

# Current HISTORY



DECEMBER, 1936

PRICE 25 CENTS

UNIV. OF MICH.  
GENERAL LIBRARY  
PERIODICAL ROOM

## ACCORD *on* MONEY

By H. Parker Willis

### GERMANY tightens her belt

By Cortez Enloe

HOW MANY SLAIN? . . . . . Michael Williams

THE SCORE IN SPAIN . . . . . Ludwig Lore

PEACE AND THE AMERICAS . . . Ronald Stuart Kain

RUSSIA'S NEW CONSTITUTION . . Samuel S. Shipman

*Other Articles • Log of Major Currents • They Say • Chronology*

PUBLISHED BY CURRENT HISTORY, INCORPORATED



## By As Little As $3/100,000$ Inch

**A** MEASUREMENT that is finer than the one-hundredth part of a human hair. This man measures the expansion, by heating, of a piece of metal. If this expansion deviates by as little as  $3/100,000$  inch from the expansion of the material it is to match, only failure can result. Such precise measurements made possible the new all-metal radio tube.

Measurements of equal precision, in General Electric laboratories, are fundamental to the further development of quality in design and manufacture of General Electric products. Careful measurements made

possible the hermetically sealed G-E refrigerator, with its lifetime dependability and its low-cost operation. Precise measurements, by G-E scientists, of electric currents in vacuum tubes have led the way to present high standards of radio reception.

These are but a few examples of the contributions of scientific research and engineering in General Electric laboratories in Schenectady—contributions which have stimulated new industries, increased employment, and provided greater comforts of living.

*G-E research has saved the public from ten to one hundred dollars for every dollar it has earned for General Electric*

**GENERAL**  **ELECTRIC**



# Current HISTORY

For December

M. E. TRACY  
Publisher

LEONARD M. LEONARD  
Assistant to the Publisher

JOHN C. CASMAN  
General Manager

## SPECIAL ARTICLES

Accord on Money <i>By H. Parker Willis</i> .....	35
The Score in Spain <i>By Ludwig Lore</i> .....	41
How Many Slain? <i>By Michael Williams</i> .....	46
Reforming the League <i>By Curt L. Heymann</i> .....	51
Peace and the Americas <i>By Ronald Stuart Kain</i> .....	57
Jews in Poland <i>By Abraham G. Duker</i> .....	63
Germany Tightens Her Belt <i>By Cortez Enloe</i> .....	69
Czechoslovakia's Choice <i>By Charles Hodges</i> .....	75
Sturdy Finland <i>By Rodger L. Simons</i> .....	81
Russia's New Constitution <i>By Samuel S. Shipman</i> .....	87
America's Red Cross <i>By Alwyn W. Knight</i> .....	91
Speed on the Highways <i>By Silas Bent</i> .....	95

## REGULAR FEATURES

The World in Books.....	2
Log of Major Currents	
At Home.....11	International.....17
The Realm of Science	Highlights of the Law
<i>By W. Carroll Munro</i> ..25	<i>By Benjamin Werne</i> ....27
On the Religious Horizon <i>By the Rev. William B. Sharp</i> .....	31
Authors.....100	They Say.....101
Speaking of Travel.....	Chronology....114
	119

Current History, Volume XLV. No. 3. December, 1936. Published Monthly by Current History, Inc., at 63 Park Row, New York, N. Y. 25c a copy; \$3 a year; two years \$5; three years \$7; Canada, 75c a year additional; foreign \$1.25 a year additional. Subscribers should notify Current History of change of address at least three weeks in advance, sending both old and new address. Entered as second-class matter September 28, 1935, at the postoffice at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Additional entry at the postoffice at Chicago, Illinois. Entered in Canada as second-class matter. Copyright, 1936, by Current History, Inc., Printed in U. S. A.

# THE WORLD

## IN BOOKS

### Books Reviewed This Month

BOOK	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER	PRICE
<i>The Nine Old Men</i>	Drew Pearson Robert S. Allen	Doubleday Doran	\$2.50
<i>Democracy and the Supreme Court</i>	Robert H. Carr	Univ. of Oklahoma	\$1.50
<i>The Constitution and the Men Who Made It</i>	Hastings Lyon	Houghton, Mifflin	\$3.00
<i>Brandeis</i>	Alfred Lief	Stackpole	\$3.00
<i>The Letters and Journal of Brand Whitlock</i>	Edited by Allan Nevins	Appleton Century	\$10.00
<i>Why We Went to War</i>	Newton D. Baker	Harpers	\$1.50
<i>The Spanish Tragedy</i>	E. Allison Peers	Oxford	\$2.50
<i>Covering the Far East</i>	Miles Vaughn	Covici, Friede	\$3.00
<i>I Found No Peace</i>	Webb Miller	Simon and Schuster	\$3.00
<i>And Fear Came</i>	John T. Whitaker	Macmillan	\$2.50
<i>French Policy and Developments in Indochina</i>	Thomas E. Ennis	Univ. of Chicago	\$3.00
<i>The Promise of American Politics</i>	T. V. Smith	Univ. of Chicago	\$2.50

WHICH way, New Deal? Catapulted back into office by the biggest electoral vote in American history, the Roosevelt Administration finds itself on dizzy heights of almost universal approval. Logically, then, the New Deal will proceed along the way on which it has come. This means a continuance, if not a direct extension, as the President himself has indicated, of the Government's efforts to take a strong hand on behalf of social legislation and perhaps attempt to successfully re-enact certain of such measures which have already been choked by the Supreme Court.

Yet one wonders whether there is any reason to believe that the Men in Black will suddenly discover heretofore hidden fountains of progressivism in the Constitution not visible to them during the last three years. Will they now give their blessings to minimum wages, abolition of child labor, and new social security measures?

Will they regard the Roosevelt landslide of November 3 as a direct order from the people to clear away their barbed-wire barrier to progressive legislation? The authors of *The Nine Old Men* (Doubleday Doran, \$2.50) think that they will not. History shows, say Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen, that the Court is not responsive to popular will, regardless of economic conditions or even critical emergencies. In 1861, Abraham Lincoln raised the issue that: "... if the policy of the Government upon vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court ... the people will have ceased to be their own rulers ...". It is easier, contend the authors, to change the ruling head of the European monarchal system, which we shook off, than the Supreme Court's decree.

This is the theme, too, of *Democracy and the Supreme Court*, by Robert H. Carr (University

of Oklahoma Press, \$1.50). Professor Carr is convinced that democracy is not compatible with the powers of the Supreme Court. The cardinal principle of democracy requires, he points out, that all officials who have any say in the determination of the legislative policies of a government be elective. Yet the Supreme Court, whose members are appointive, has certainly taken an active role in legislation. How, he asks, can Americans justify this negation of democracy?

Messrs. Pearson and Allen ask similar questions. Although their book is intended primarily as a behind-the-scenes camera in the lives of each of the "nine old men", it does make the point that the Supreme Court, dominated largely by the cemented economic and political views of its members, is a threat to the progress of a democratic people. As Sir Wilmott Lewis once remarked, "Legislation in the United States is a digestive process by Congress with frequent regurgitations by the Supreme Court."

### *Caricature of the Court*

The authors term members of the court "nine black-gowned beetles, aloof from all reality, meting out laws as inflexible as the massive blocks of marble that surround them in their mausoleum of justice." Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes is "the man on the flying trapeze" who swung into the center seat on the judges' bench because of a mistake; now the "most pathetic figure" in the court. Justice Harlan Fiske Stone is "Hoover's Pal", who disappointed the former President by stoutly defending most of the social legislation promulgated by the New Deal. Justice Pierce Butler is "The Bruiser"—who, as an attorney, pleaded for special privilege and who "creates and sanctifies it" as a justice. Justice Owen J. Roberts did not reflect the wishes of his progressive supporters and "is the biggest joke ever played upon the fighting liberals of the United States Senate." As for the rest, Justice Louis Dembitz Brandeis is a "Crusader" whose "fervor will live and bear fruit long, long after he has passed away"; Justice James Clark McReynolds ("Scrooge") is a "tragedy" who fails to get along, not only with his colleagues, on the bench, but with himself; Justice Benjamin Nathan Cardozo is a "Hermit Philosopher"; Justice Willis Van Devanter is the "Dummy Director of the Court"—a "fanatical reactionary" and "fanatical dry"; and Justice George Sutherland's economic and social theories are as "up-to-date as the moldy opera house, the gilded saloons . . ."

*The Nine Old Men*, written in the best spirit of the newspaper scarehead, is deliberately, but not maliciously, calculated to raise the eyebrows

*If "Books" are included  
in your Christmas List,  
we strongly recommend—*

### FICTION

#### **GONE WITH THE WIND**

Margaret Mitchell \$3.00

#### **HONOURABLE ESTATE**

Vera Brittain \$2.50

### HISTORY

#### **AND FEAR CAME**

John Whitaker \$2.50

#### **OLD HISTORIC**

#### **CHURCHES OF AMERICA**

Edward F. Rines \$6.00

### BIOGRAPHY

#### **LIFE OF GEORGE MOORE**

Joseph Hone \$5.00

#### **PEARY**

William H. Hobbs \$5.00

### TRAVEL

#### **THIS ENGLAND**

Mary Ellen Chase \$2.50

#### **MEXICAN INTERLUDE**

Jos. Henry Jackson \$2.50

*at all bookstores,  
or direct from*

**THE  
MACMILLAN COMPANY**

60 Fifth Avenue, New York City

## Must We Grow Old?

IN THE December issue of HARPERS MAGAZINE Roy Helton advances a new conception of the growing old process and applies it not only to civilizations and cultures and governments, but to love-in-marriage and to the prolongation of active human life.

"Why Things Grow Old" demonstrates how exciting Mr. Helton can make the impact of a new idea—how he makes us see the things about us as if with new eyes.

If you are not a regular reader of HARPERS MAGAZINE, you are offered an introductory subscription at *exactly half price*—six months for only one dollar. Return the coupon below at once to be sure of reading!

### *More than 90 brilliant features including:*

WHY THINGS GROW OLD, by Roy Helton

THE NATURE OF TELEPATHY, by Ernest Hunter Wright

TELL THE GIRLS THE TRUTH, by a Fifth Avenue Buyer

NOTES ON PROPAGANDA, by Aldous Huxley

LIVING ON \$50,000 A YEAR, Anonymous

MONEY AND BANKING IN RUSSIA, by Richard Hellman

JOHN JAY CHAPMAN TO WILLIAM JAMES, Letters edited by M. A. DeWolfe Howe

BACK TO WORK: WHEN AND WHERE? by C. Hartley Grattan

THE PROVINCIAL LADY IN MOSCOW, by E. M. Delafield

Mail this coupon today!

HARPERS MAGAZINE  
49 E. 33 St., New York, N. Y.

CH12

Here is my dollar. Please send your trial subscription for six months to:

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

6 Months for  
Only One Dollar

Harpers  
MAGAZINE





of the nation. Despite its percussion tactics at the expense of the nation's highest tribunal, it is far from bitter or spiteful. One expects, in fact, that the "nine old men" themselves will read it and be more amused than enraged.

### The Court and Congress

To return to the more scholarly *Democracy and the Supreme Court*, Professor Carr would restrict the power of the high court to invalidate acts of Congress. He realizes, however, that political expediency puts definite action toward that end beyond the realm of possibility, at least for the immediate future. A number of other methods are suggested: Congress, for example might vote itself additional powers, or even enlarge the membership of the Court and appoint liberal justices. But the author admits that practical politics dictates a policy of "hopeful waiting." The rule of averages should present the Administration with an opportunity to appoint enough liberal justices to create a majority favorable to social legislation, he says. This, however, would fail to change the long-time view of the problem of restricting the Court's power, and Professor Carr concludes that eventually the people will have to decide whether the Supreme Court shall serve as a potential, if not actual, frustration of democracy. A direct challenge to one of America's oldest institutions, *Democracy and the Supreme Court* is thought-provoking and raises many points that few will be able to dispute successfully.

Fundamentally, of course, it is essential to turn to a study of the Constitution itself for any mature consideration of the scope and definition of the Court's powers. As one is reminded by Hastings Lyon in *The Constitution and the Men Who Made It* (Houghton, Mifflin, \$3.00), there was far from unanimous agreement among the founding fathers on the question of the extent of jurisdiction to be vested in the Court. Further, there was even disagreement as to the method of the justices' appointments.

It seems clear from Mr. Lyon's work, too, that the entire issue regarding the determination of the constitutionality of Federal and State legislation occupied a minor role at the Constitutional conventions. There were the basic questions of State and Federal powers and privileges, the Bill of Rights, and commerce regulations. Without considering, in fact, whether the signers intended the document to be rigid or flexible on social legislation, it would appear that the higher judiciary was not meant to have the power to invalidate acts of Congress.

## Questions

about every

### Hobby and Special Interest

quickly answered by the  
NEW MERRIAM-WEBSTER



DO YOU LIKE sailing? Or building ship-models? Can you name butterflies, birds? Are you acquainted with the wonders of the microscope? These and all other hobbies are fully described in Webster, with hundreds of detailed illustrations, half tones, and color plates. Every science, art, and profession is covered in the New Merriam-Webster with the same unprecedented thoroughness. 600,000 entries—122,000 more than in any other dictionary. 3,350 pages. Edited by 207 authorities. See it at your bookdealer's.

Write for illustrated new booklet,  
"Through Wonderland with Webster"  
G. & C. MERRIAM CO.  
Dept. 699 Springfield, Mass.

The Supreme Authority—A New Creation  
**WEBSTER'S NEW INTERNATIONAL  
DICTIONARY** Second Edition

Dictatorship—  
Republic— Chaos—

## The SPANISH TRAGEDY

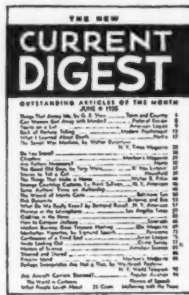
1930-1936

by E. Allison Peers

Here is a highly readable book to help you understand completely the background of the present situation in Spain. Graphic, authentic, it gives a description of the steps which have led up to the present civil war: the coming of the Republic and the Republican Constitution, the swing to the Left, the counter-swing toward the Right—and chaos. \$2.50

**OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS**  
114 Fifth Avenue, New York

*If you were  
the richest  
man in the  
world*



and could afford to have a regiment of secretaries study the periodicals of the land and digest for you what was vital and valuable, and worth saving, they couldn't do a better job than the editors of *The Current Digest*. Every month the World's magazines parade through our door, and what is timely, human, informative and interesting is selected by our staff, condensed and presented to you. What you get is a streamlined magazine designed for reading in a streamlined age.

**Here are some of the titles of the articles which appeared in the November issue:**

We Are Thieves and Vandals . . . . .	The Churchman
I'm a Fool About My Boy . . . . .	by Ed Wynn
The Pacific Changes Color . . . . .	Asia
Live Alone and Like It . . . . .	by Marjorie Hillis
Look Before They Leap . . . . .	Stage
The Adventure of Living . . . . .	by Pearl Buck
The Left Is Mightier than the Right, by	Jack Dempsey
Tragedy of American Education . . . . .	The Spur
You Can't Be Sure of Your Sex . . . . .	Opportunity
How Fit Are You? . . . . .	News Review
The King's Mrs. Simpson . . . . .	Delineator
Dividends from Philanthropy . . . . .	by G. Kinsee Flint
"An American Doctor's Odyssey"	
Words the Ladies Use . . . . .	Correct English
Mad About Politics . . . . .	New York Woman
Tomorrow's Bride . . . . .	by Fannie Hurst
How Much Do I Like a Pun? . . . . .	America
Industrial Magic in Beans . . . . .	Magazine of Wall Street
This Monkey Business . . . . .	Arts and Decoration
The Most Neglected People . . . . .	Commonweal
The Future of the Silent Picture . . . . .	by Charles Chaplin
Gentlemen Wanted . . . . .	The American Review
Fellow Creatures . . . . .	by Ogden Nash
How Much Can Life Stand? . . . . .	Chambers's Journal
Blessed Are The Debonair . . . . .	Junior League Magazine
Hallelujah . . . . .	Cue

The *Current Digest* is 25c at all newsstands. But why not take advantage of our special offer and have this swift reading, pocket size magazine sent to your home for 5 months for only \$1.00. Simply fill out the coupon below

**THE CURRENT DIGEST**  
152 W. 42nd Street  
New York, N. Y.

Dept. C. H.

Gentlemen:

Enclosed find \$1.00, (cash, check, or money order). Please send *The Current Digest* to my home for five months.

Name.....

Address.....

City.....

As a matter of historic fact, it was the Supreme Court itself which decided that it had this power. There is no specific mention in the Constitution of such a provision and it remained for Chief Justice James Marshall in the famous *Marbury v. Madison* case in 1803 to rule that the Court could override Congress.

Ever since Marshall's decision, of course, the legal heavens have been thick with dispute as to whether the original framers ever intended the judiciary to have any such power. We return, then, to *The Constitution and the Men Who Made It* for an objective consideration of the document. Mr. Lyon has carefully assembled his material facts from the best available sources, which include Madison's reports of the debates, and the *Federalist* papers. He has presented the story of the Constitution in a competent, scholarly fashion.

### **Should the Court Yield?**

Through most of the books attacking or criticizing the Supreme Court there runs a thread of pessimism to the effect that if left to itself, the Court will never bend to the people's will. Yet only recently, Justice Stone said in his historic dissent in the AAA decision:

"... the only check upon our own exercise of power is our sense of self-restraint. For the removal of unwise laws from the statute books, appeal lies not to the courts but to the ballot."

And Justice Louis Dembitz Brandeis, who concurred in Stone's dissent, believed, according to Alfred Lief in the biography *Brandeis* (Stackpole, \$3.00) that the Supreme Court on occasion had usurped the normal legislative functions. Further, Justice Brandeis was convinced that the real solution or remedy to the social problems of the nation could not be brought about by the courts but by the people themselves. All the Supreme Court should do was to curb excesses; neither the Court nor the enlargement of the Government's powers could create a free people. So that instead of amending the Constitution, Justice Brandeis would amend men's social and economic ideals.

Twenty years service on the nation's highest tribunal has not changed the philosophy and spirit of the jurist whom many have come to regard as America's greatest legal mind. In 1916, Justice Brandeis was nominated for appointment to the Supreme Court by President Wilson. Describing him as "a friend of all just men and a lover of the right", the President said that Brandeis knew more than merely how to talk about the right; "he knows how to set it forward in the face of its enemies." Justice Brandeis obtained

## IN CURRENT HISTORY\* FOR JANUARY:

### WHY HITLER WANTS MEMEL

BY HENRY C. WOLFE

### MUNITIONS IN EUROPE

BY LORD STRABOLGI

### FORESTALLING INFLATION

BY JOSEPH E. GOODBAR

### LEGISLATORS' CHECKMATE

BY HENRY A. SHINN

### EGYPT SIGNS A TREATY

BY PIERRE CRABITES

### OTHER ARTICLES AND FEATURES

*\*A New Year begins—new history is in the making. Why not make sure now that you keep posted? Clip the coupon below and send in your subscription to CURRENT HISTORY for one year, beginning with the very first issue of 1937. In twelve months you will have a complete record of every major development of the year in compact, ready-reference form.*

**CURRENT HISTORY,  
63 Park Row,  
New York, N. Y.**

C. H. December

Please enter this subscription, for which I enclose check for \$ \_\_\_\_\_ ☐ One year (\$3).

\$ \_\_\_\_\_ ☐ Two years (\$5). \$ \_\_\_\_\_ ☐ Three years (\$7).

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Add \$.75 per year for Canadian, and \$1.25 for foreign postage.

**Introductory Offer**

**17 weeks of**

**THE Nation**

**for only \$1**

*Less than 6¢ a copy*

THE NATION accepts the challenge of the intelligent minority to disclose the facts behind the news and to interpret them authoritatively from the progressive point of view.

Its correspondents, feature writers, and editors give you the background which enables you to understand thoroughly the headlines of today and to be prepared for those of tomorrow. Through the cold, hard eye of the militant progressive *The Nation* scrutinizes every public issue and shows you why it is a stride forward or a step backward.

Although *The Nation* has been published continuously since 1865, never before has it had as many subscribers as now! And justly so, for never before was *The Nation* more essential to the reader who prides himself on knowing what progressives think and do.

Of course, you may not agree with *The Nation's* opinions but after you have read a few issues we believe you will agree that by presenting the progressive point of view authoritatively *The Nation* helps you form sound, impregnable opinions of your own.

The regular price is 15¢ a copy, \$5 a year. Because we think that once you read *The Nation* you will never choose to be without it, we offer you the next 17 weeks for only \$1 . . . less than 6¢ a copy, 1¢ a day.

Four critical months loom ahead. Understand what's going on. Mail the order form below today!

**ORDER FORM**

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York City

Send me the next 17 issues of *The Nation* for which I enclose \$1.

CH12

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

(Extra postage: Canadian, 17c; Foreign, 34c)

ratification by the Senate, but only after the bitterest fight that the Capitol had ever seen on the question of an appointee to the Supreme Court.

Mr. Lief's story, told with an understanding and a grasp of the personality that is Brandeis skilfully and sympathetically traces the life of his subject from a boyhood in Kentucky to a career as a lawyer and a member of the Supreme Court. As a biography it rates with the year's best; as a story of an American ideal, it cannot fail to be measured with the same yardstick which established the greatness of *The Making of an American*.

**Brand Whitlock**

Another literary event of major importance last month was the publication of *The Letters and Journal of Brand Whitlock* (Appleton Century, \$10). Edited by Allan Nevins, the work is published in two separate volumes: the first containing Whitlock's letters, and the second, his diary, religiously kept from the outbreak of the World War to his death two years ago.

Apparently, Brand Whitlock was the exception to the rule of mediocrity following versatility, for he was master of at least half a dozen callings. He began his career as a reporter, building a creditable reputation as a good writer and a keen observer. Law appealed to him and he studied during his spare time, being admitted to the bar while still a reporter. As a lawyer he first made his pact with the people, whose great benefactor he later was to become. Law led into politics, and Brand Whitlock became Mayor of Toledo. His reform administration put human problems above all others and his career as a humanitarian took solid root. As a writer, several of his novels of political and social significance gave him wide literary recognition; many considered him among the finest novelists and thinkers of the early twentieth century.

In 1913, when the progressive movement reached its climax in the inauguration of Woodrow Wilson, Whitlock wrote the memorable *Forty Years of It*, a "sheaf of reminiscences"—opinions on politics, religion, literature, morals. President Wilson appointed the novelist and historian to the post of Minister to Belgium that same year. One year later the war broke out and Whitlock was destined to make a record in Belgium that was to be recorded among the finest emissary work in the nation's history.

As edited and selected by Allan Nevins, distinguished historian, Whitlock's letters and journal are an important contribution to both litera-



ture and history. It will outlive not only this year, but the next and the next.

### Mr. Baker on War

Newton D. Baker, who was one of Whitlock's closest friends, and who writes a preface to *The Letters and Journal of Brand Whitlock*, was also a member of the Wilson Administration during the World War. As Secretary of War, Mr. Baker was in a position to examine the influences—internal, external, or both—which caused the United States to be swept into the conflict. His conclusions, based upon his personal observations and such records as are now available, are contained in his *Why We Went to War* (\$1.50), published by Harpers for the Council on Foreign Relations.

It is eighteen years now that word went out from a stuffy palace in Versailles to stop the slaughter. But though the tons of human debris on the fields of Flanders have been cleared away and poppies grow again, much bitterness remains. There are those who still insist that we were too hasty in our decision that American youth was not too high a price to pay for an Allied victory. Did not big business have a hand in forcing America to make that decision? What about our giant loans to the Allies? And did not the armament interests smear the country with propaganda?

It is in answer to these questions that Mr. Baker has written *Why We Went to War*. His reply is an emphatic and categorical "No!" The United States entered the World War, he says, because of the resumption of submarine warfare by Germany. Minor contributing factors, he admits, were business interests, adherence to particular forms of civil liberty, and fear of the consequences of the triumph of militarism. But the conclusive and damning cause was Germany's submarine warfare. Since it involved the lives of American citizens, "there could be but one answer and about which there could be no delay." This country had been perilously close to conflict against Great Britain in 1916, Mr. Baker writes, but our property rights were the issues involved.

"Our controversies with Germany, however, centered upon the problem of human life, as to which no compensation was possible," he says. "No government which conceded that some other government might kill its citizens in response to some exigency of its own, with no more serious consequence than a postponed attempt to secure a money compensation, would be intrinsically re-

(Continued on page 127)

★ **NEW, UP-TO-DATE EDITION**, completely revised and reset, of the international best-seller:

## John Gunther's INSIDE EUROPE

★ With up-to-date information on the recent stirring events in France and Spain, Germany's re-armament, etc. 200,000 words. \$3.50

HARPERS

**Moscow News**  
Weekly Edition of Moscow Daily News

**THE WEEK IN THE SOVIET UNION**

Levnevsky, on Soviet Soil, Tells About Flight

600,000 March in Youth Day Demonstration



**26 WKS! \$1.00 1 YR. \$2.**

**MOSCOW'S ONLY ENGLISH WEEKLY!**

Authentic news! Reviews USSR theatre, books, sports. Subscribe through

**BOOKNIGA** Corp. Dept. "R"  
255 5th Ave., N. Y. C.  
(Inquire about Soviet English Monthlies)

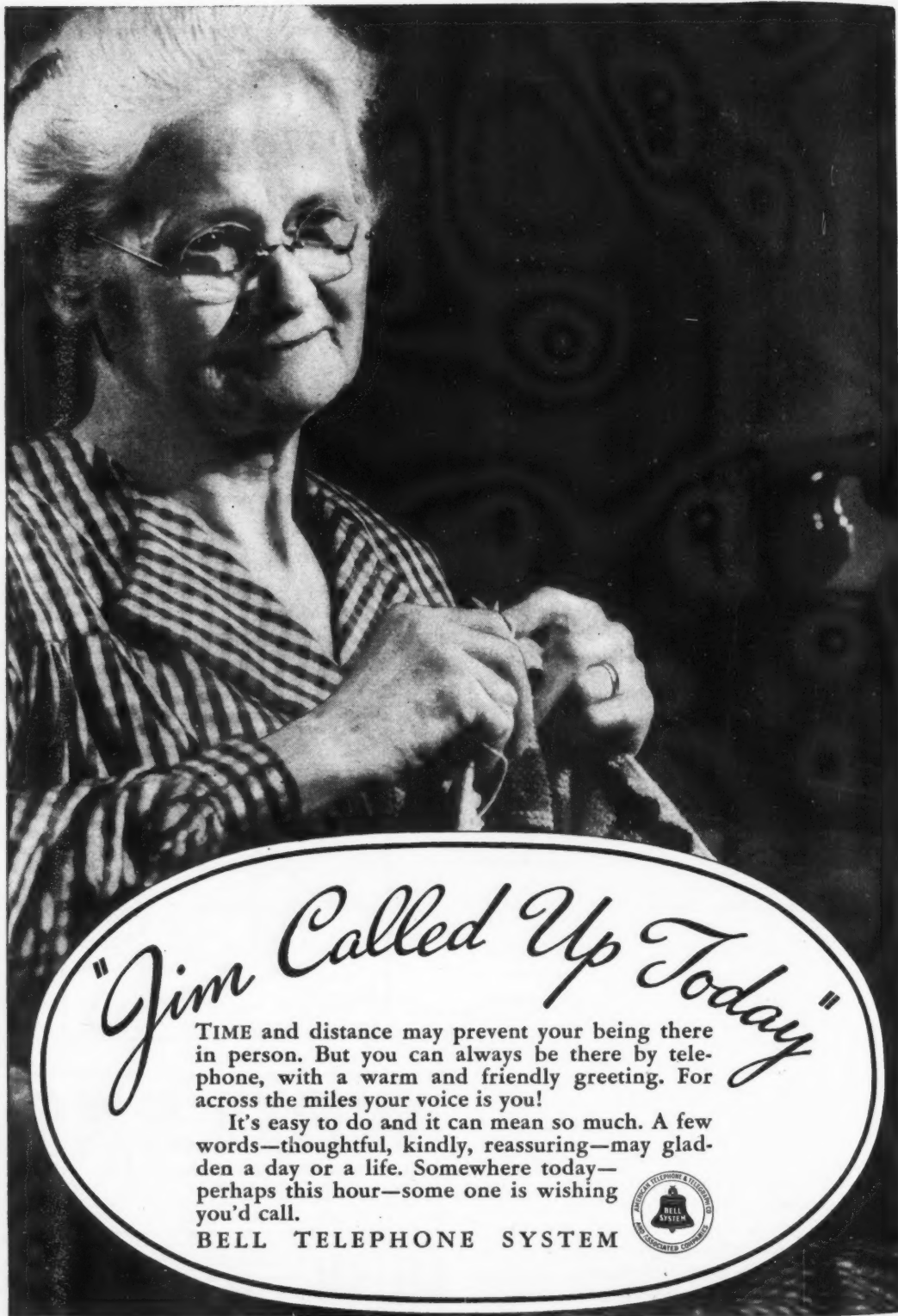
## WRITERS

Manuscripts Wanted for Immediate Publication. All subjects, (30,000 words or more) including book length collections of short stories, verse, etc., **BURNEY BROS. PUBLISHING COMPANY, AURORA, MO., Box CH**

## MUSIC

**LOVERS**—We are offering some of the world's best recorded music at 50c & 75c per record (value \$1.50 & \$2). The Symphonies, Chamber Music, Operas, etc., of Bach, Beethoven, Brahms, Mozart, Wagner, etc. Mail Orders. Catalogue.

**THE GRAMOPHONE SHOP, INC., 18 E. 48th ST., NEW YORK**




*"Jim Called Up Today"*

TIME and distance may prevent your being there in person. But you can always be there by telephone, with a warm and friendly greeting. For across the miles your voice is you!

It's easy to do and it can mean so much. A few words—thoughtful, kindly, reassuring—may gladden a day or a life. Somewhere today—perhaps this hour—some one is wishing you'd call.

**BELL TELEPHONE SYSTEM**



# Current HISTORY

DECEMBER 1936

---

## LOG OF MAJOR CURRENTS

---

### *At Home:*

A POLITICAL avalanche swept over the United States on November 3, moving straight down a middle pathway, sweeping aside radicals as well as Republicans, and piling up an unprecedented majority in favor of what may justly be described as New Deal objectives. Though casualties were many, they were few by comparison with those dissenters who climbed aboard the Roosevelt juggernaut.

The virtual obliteration of third parties and left-wing groups matches, if indeed it does not overshadow, the Republican defeat. The Lemke movement, backed by Father Coughlin, delivered less than ten percent of what was promised and hoped for by its enthusiastic leaders. True to his preelection pledge that he would retire if the Union Party failed to mobilize a specified number of votes, Father Coughlin retired from the air four days after the election. Whatever else may be thought of him and his ideals, let it be recorded that he kept his word.

The most reassuring aspect of this amazing poll was its freedom from disorder and violence. Preceded by four months of bitter campaigning and strenuous appeals to group prejudice, people were justified in being apprehensive of what might happen on election day. As the result proved, their alarms were psychological rather than realistic. The United States never held a more orderly election; never emerged the morning after in better spirits. In holding the post-mortem, let us not forget to mark that down as a real triumph for American democracy.

It is necessary to go back one hundred and sixteen years to find a parallel for the Roosevelt landslide. In 1820, President Monroe, running for a second term, had only one electoral vote against him. Four years afterward, however, the political situation had so completely altered that the election of a President was thrown into the House of Representatives. Without drawing any conclusion from this analogy or making any prediction, it can be stated as a historical fact that in a democracy like ours, huge majorities often presage a crack-up.

In 1908, after the Democratic Party had been defeated for the fourth consecutive time, Henry Watterson, one of its greatest editorial advocates, left for Europe doubting whether it contained sufficient vitality to be revived. Four years later, the Republican Party split and Woodrow Wilson was elected.

In 1920, the Democratic Party polled only 33 percent of the vote while the Republican Party polled 61 percent, and minor parties 6 percent. In 1924, the Progressives, under the leadership of LaFollette, bolted the Republican Party, and the results were as follows: Democratic Party, 29%; Republican Party, 54%; Progressives, 16%+; minor parties, less than 1%.

In 1928, the Democratic Party, under Smith, polled 41 percent of the total vote, the Republicans, 58%, and again minor parties, less than one percent. This result was practically reversed in 1932 with the Democrats, under Roosevelt, polling more than 57% of the vote; the Republicans, under Hoover, 39%, and minor parties, 3%+.

Summing up this record, we find that the Harding landslide in 1920 was followed by a



*A Prospect for Some Unemployment Insurance*

NEA Service

split in the Republican Party four years later, and that the Hoover landslide of 1928 was followed by a complete somersault in 1932. What does the enormous Roosevelt majority in 1936 portend for 1940?

### **Difficulties**

From a purely political standpoint, President Roosevelt will enter upon his second term under obvious difficulties. The majority

his Administration will have in both houses of Congress is too unwieldy for coherent action. Besides, it is too definitely exposed to group pressure. It will be far less responsive to the promise or denial of patronage because most of the patronage has already been given out. Granted that President Roosevelt's support came largely from sincere confidence in him and his program, there were distinct groups who lined up in his favor because of



gratitude for what they had received during his first Administration and because of hope that they would receive the same, if not more, during his second Administration. Some of these groups are bound to be disappointed. It is inevitable that, no matter how great a degree of prosperity the nation enjoys, certain economies will have to be effected by the Federal Government. No one realizes more keenly than President Roosevelt and his advisers that the increase of debt must be gradually eliminated, and the budget brought into balance. That means a definite, if gradual, curtailment of relief and credit programs which have played such an important part during the last four years.

Furthermore, prosperity depends on the orderly, uninterrupted conduct of business. To hold what it has gained in rehabilitating business, the Administration has no choice but to discover ways of adjusting the relationship between capital and labor without such terrific disturbances as have been, and are now, occurring. It requires no second sight to suspect that President Roosevelt, though standing firmly for equitable readjustment, will not tolerate such disorder in the field of industry as would destroy the benefits of any program, no matter how desirable or how appealing. Nothing that he has said or done can be construed as indicating that he will permit any group, any program, or any particular objective to jeopardize the public interest. On the contrary, it is a fair assumption that he will exercise a rather stronger hand in the conduct of public affairs during his second term than he did during his first, and that it will be a more inclusive hand.

### **Polls and the Press**

The election resulted in many surprises, but in none so great as the apparent inability of prophets and pollers to forecast such a landslide. Even President Roosevelt guessed that he would get only 360 electoral votes, while the *Literary Digest*, which made four bullseyes in the past, had Landon elected with 370.

One can only marvel why the editors of the *Literary Digest* let their poll go to press without analysis or explanation. The second and third columns left no doubt that it was wrong in total numbers. These columns showed where the vote came from, making it perfectly clear that vastly more Republicans than Democrats had registered an opinion. According

to the second and third columns, Hoover should have been elected in 1932 but, as everyone knows, he was not. Because of this, the value of the poll lay solely in the percentage of shifts which it revealed. Had these percentages been carefully figured out, they would have shown a very different result and brought the poll much nearer in line with what happened.

Press support was at quite as much variance with the outcome as was the *Literary Digest* poll. According to CURRENT HISTORY, two thirds of the newspapers favored Landon, while according to other estimates, they ran as high as 70 percent in his behalf. Sir Wilmott Lewis went so far as to guess 80 percent. Not pausing to argue the exact proportion, the fact that a great majority of the newspapers opposed the New Deal while a great majority of the people voted for it is rather startling. There are some who see in it a definite repudiation of the press or, at least, a deep lack of confidence in its leadership. This is not a conclusion which should be formed lightly. It is doubtful whether a majority of our leading newspapers ever favored prohibition, but prohibition was adopted and remained the law of the land for thirteen years. Neither is it right or logical to assume that the press was intimidated, coerced, or subsidized by commercial interests. The press simply got out of step with the majority of people for the time being—or, if you prefer, the majority of people decided to ignore its advice. Those who take this to mean that the press has ceased to be a powerful influence in national affairs or that politicians can afford to disregard it in the future, trifle with a dangerous assumption.

### **Foreign Reaction**

Speaking of the press, its reaction in foreign countries was singularly favorable, especially in countries where it is the official or quasi-official medium of expression for those in power. Russian, Italian, German, French, and English editors all interpret President Roosevelt's reelection as most reassuring, but largely because those in control regard it as an endorsement of their particular theories. The Nazis, for instance, see it as a drift toward dictatorship; the Russians, as a definite swerve toward the left, and the English, as a vindication of constitutional democracy. All, however, seem to agree on one point: that it is a distinct triumph for international peace.

President Roosevelt apparently has made himself the world's outstanding exponent of orderly adjustment and neighborliness among nations. Regardless of their differences over statecraft and economics, all people seem to regard him as the most reliable and effective anti-war leader. To some extent, the responsibility of living up to such a reputation has been thrust upon him, but what man on earth would not be glad to have this happen, regardless of risk or consequence?

Following are typical comments from abroad:

### Great Britain

"\* \* \* the people have risen against 'big business' and newspapers. \* \* \* Unquestionably there are troublous days ahead and it is in the form of labor unrest that trouble is most likely."—*London Times* (moderately conservative).

"Give the people leadership such as Roosevelt has given them and they will follow



New York World-Telegram

"Gosh! I Couldn't Stand That Oftener Than Once in Every Four Years!"

every time without need for proscriptions and torturings to persuade them."—*The News Chronicle* (liberal).

"[We hope] the President will agree to participate in a new world economic conference as a tardy recompense of his lack of helpfulness at the 1933 conference."—*Manchester Guardian* (liberal).

"When all allowances are made, Roosevelt may justly claim to have introduced a new principle of responsibility for individual welfare into American Government and to have won widespread acceptance of it."—*Morning Post* (ultra-conservative).

### France

"It [President Roosevelt's re-election] will bring hope and encouragement to international democracy because to the entire world President Roosevelt personified with particular strength that ideal of justice toward which all free people and democratic government itself aim."—Premier Blum.

"\* \* \* liberty and the peace of the world are now to be defended by a voice powerful above all others."—*Paris-Soir* (independent).

### Italy

"The American people approve the tendency of the President to concentrate political, economic, and directive powers in a form that a European democracy would call dictatorial." *Giornale d'Italia* (official).

### Soviet Union

"We are extremely gratified because we consider it a step toward united cooperation for peace and international affairs." (Semi-official statement)

### Germany

"President Roosevelt more intensely perhaps than any other American, has interpreted the drift of the new era." *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*

"Party politics will go on as before and Roosevelt, who is an adept at the game, will continue to play it, but there are unmistakable signs in the United States of a shift in the political centers of gravity and this shift is destined to become more perceptible during the next four years."—*The Tageblatt*.

### Geneva

"President Roosevelt's recent monetary accord is an unequivocal demonstration of sympathy toward two great European democ-

racies. It is particularly significant of a more benevolent attitude toward European nations."—*Tribune de Geneve* (independent).

### Social Security

Making due allowance for those groups who supported President Roosevelt for some particular reason, it is safe to say that the vast majority of his supporters voted for social security—a program by which people would be protected against various contingencies by compulsory insurance or cooperative action in one form or another. Like most ideas which eventually find their way into statecraft, this one originated in private enterprise. The Government is merely asked to render services which have been performed in a limited way by corporations, societies, and institutions for a long time. Old-age pensions, accident insurance, provisions for taking care of those obliged to quit work temporarily, assistance to farmers through subsidies, tariffs, and beneficial laws—all these schemes and many more have been tried out through private practice. Many people feel that the time has come to make their application more universal and inclusive. Thus through a century and more of experimentation, we come to a broadening of the insurance idea through governmental agencies. The more difficult problems to be solved had to deal with method rather than objective.

While social security is promoted by all programs which benefit a considerable number of people, it can only be made to mean what it should by the extension of such programs to include the greatest possible number. The outstanding defect of the present law consists in its limited application. It reaches only about one half the people, only those who are regularly employed by commercial and industrial enterprises, even banks affiliated with the Federal Reserve System being disqualified. As for farmers, domestic servants, small tradesmen, professional people, etc., they have no chance whatsoever to benefit, though they must pay their share as consumers.

Meanwhile, it must be clear to everyone that no social security program can function efficiently unless and until our industrial structure is liberated from the disturbances constantly arising because of the disputes between capital and labor. If a dependable program is to be instituted, one of the first tasks to be accomplished is the discovery of

some orderly method of arriving at just decisions without such disturbances. Neither this nor any other country can hope for social security except through the orderly administration of justice, not only as between and among individuals, but as between and among groups. Take the maritime strike which has played such havoc with the shipping industry, for instance. Is it not apparent that social security is impossible as long as we tolerate such a method of meeting the problems involved? The question of whether labor, shipowners, or rank-and-file committees are right is completely overshadowed by the greater question of setting up agencies and providing codes by which the right can be impartially determined.

### **Maritime Strike**

In 1934 the Maritime Federation of the Pacific composing six unions (Sailors Union of the Pacific; Marine Firemen, Oilers, Watertenders and Wipers Association; Masters, Mates and Pilots; Marine Engineers Beneficial Association; Cooks and Stewards; and the American Radio Telegraphists' Association), numbering some 18,000 men, and having the sympathetic support of the International Longshoremen's Association, struck militantly against the employers and shipowners. After a bloody general strike that paralyzed San Francisco for four days, the unions scored a spectacular victory and obtained favorable agreements. On September 30, 1936, these favorable agreements expired at a time when the employers and shipowners were determined to fight against their renewal, and the workers were just as determined that they be renewed with additional concessions.

Control of hiring halls, the pivot of the 1934 disagreement, again became the focal point of dispute. It is admitted that control of hiring halls by the union immeasurably strengthens union discipline, and in essence results in an absolute closed shop. Employer control of halls would, of course, enable them, by judicious hiring to curb union activity, and subsequently weaken such opposition as would render collective bargaining impotent.

With the expiration of the 1934 agreements on September 30, the Maritime Federation demanded union preference in the hiring of workers; cash payment for all overtime instead of time off; and an eight-hour day for ship's officers, cooks, and stewards.

The Ship Owners Association of the Pa-

cific and the Waterfront Employers Association countered these union demands with demands of their own which specified that: unions agree to penalize "quickie strikes"; all hiring halls be placed under neutral control; disputed terms in the prevailing (1934) agreements be arbitrated.

After two months of negotiating and indefinitely extended truces, the Maritime Federation of the Pacific under Harry Bridges, and the seamen under Harry Lundeberg called a joint strike, despite bad personal feeling between the two leaders. Some 37,000 workers responded, immediately disrupting one of the busiest seasons of the year in the movement of Western fruits and canned goods.

Assistant Secretary of Labor Edward F. McGrady, who sought to arbitrate the disputes prior to the expiration of the agreements and afterward, reported some progress up to the time the new Federal Maritime Commission under Admiral Hamlet tried to force both sides into a quick settlement. Both union officials and employers repudiated the action of the Federal Maritime Commission, charging that it exceeded its legal authority in any forceful attempts to bring the strike forces to heel. Despite the confusion between arbitration heads, however, Mr. McGrady continued to work for a peaceful settlement.

In San Francisco a separate strike of 1,400 warehousemen further complicated the situation, while in the Northwest the lumber industry, crippled by transportation stoppage, began to shut down, with fifty thousand lumbermen and mill workers affected. The indirect result of the maritime tangle spread like creeping paralysis to Alaska where food shortage was threatened, and to the railroads clamping embargoes on consignments destined beyond the Pacific Coast through Western ports. Fifty-seven ships were strike-bound in San Francisco; fifty-seven in the north Pacific ports, including Seattle, Tacoma, and Portland. Twenty-two were tied up in San Pedro and San Diego, while in Hawaii six were not permitted to sail despite perishable cargoes and full passenger lists.

In New York the International Seamen's Union under Joseph P. Ryan was confronted with a revolt of "rank-and-file" workers led by Joseph Curran who, since early 1936, has inspired militant labor trouble in the Port of New York and along the Atlantic Coast. Faced with a demand for a strike in sympathy with the Pacific Coast workers, the union



officials refused on the ground that existing contracts did not expire until December 31, 1937. This legal consideration did not, however, deter the insurgent workers composing some one thousand members of the Seamen's Defense Committee, who contended that the contracts had been forced upon them by the I.S.U. against their wishes. They called a sympathetic strike under the banner of the Seamen's Defense Committee (subsequently the Strike Strategy Committee) and successfully thwarted attempts of the I.S.U. to break the strike by supplying crews to port-bound ships. Eighteen vessels were held in New York where 2,100 deckhands, stewards, and engine-room hands walked out, while along the Atlantic and in Gulf ports seventy-seven American flag ships were similarly affected.

On November 4, John M. Franklin, president of the Mercantile Marine Company, charged that "racketeers" were conducting the New York waterfront strike. Joseph Curran speaking for the strikers denied the Franklin allegation and countered with the statement that the Strategy Committee had furnished the police with the names of twenty known thugs and gunmen imported by the

ship lines for the purpose of breaking the peaceful strike.

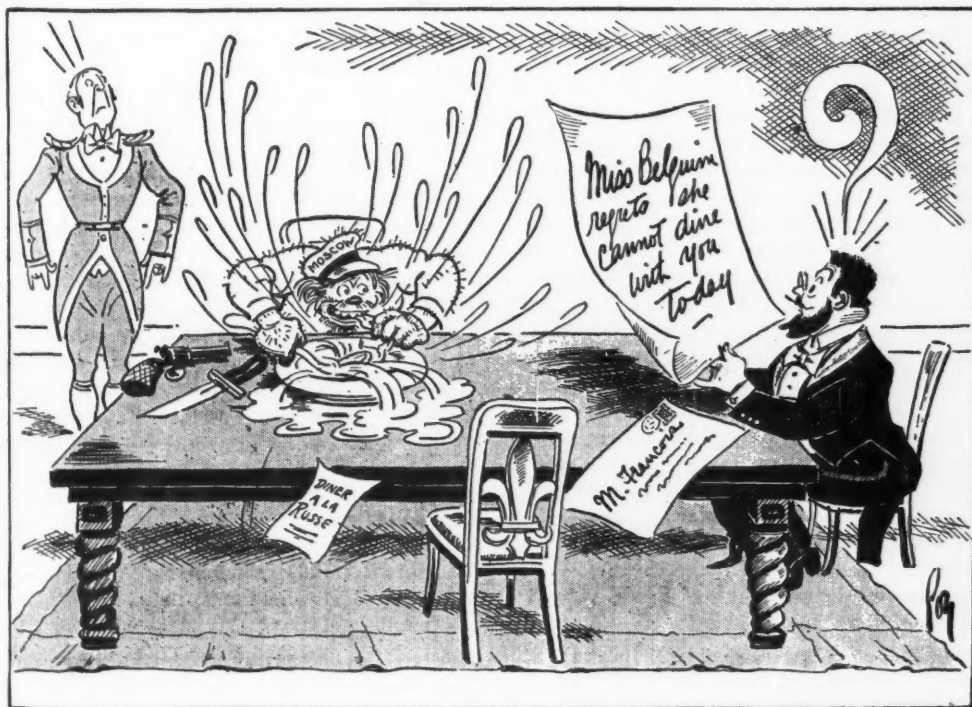
Meanwhile, the Federal Maritime Commission which has jurisdiction over \$100,000,000 in ship subsidies, investigated shipping conditions. Rumors persisted that the Government would assume neutral control of all hiring halls, exerting pressure through its subsidies to force a compromise settlement.

## International

**T**HE situation differs materially from the situation in 1914. In 1914 there were in existence definite commitments.\*\*\*

*In the present case there are no such commitments. We shall have to judge the situation when it arises, and my own view is that we would be unwise to make either affirmative or negative commitments as to how or where we are going to use an all-purposes force."*

In these words, Sir Samuel Hoare, First Lord of the Admiralty, reserved England's freedom to act as she sees fit under the Locarno Treaty (which still stands despite Germany's infraction of the agreement), her assurances of support which France still ex-



I WONDER WHY!

The Daily Mail, London

pects in case of attack by Germany, and her duties against aggressors under the Covenant of the League. While professedly referring to the *form* of assistance, the words frightened Europe.

Consider the antecedents of this statement. The non-intervention pact had dwindled into an open farce. Both sides in the Spanish civil war received assistance in contravention of that pact—particularly the rebels, whose victory has been assured by this flouting of the treaty. There seems no room for doubt that this was with the connivance of the governments concerned, but where it was not, it was clear that private interests in those countries in a position to send supplies to Spain were willing to turn an irresponsible, if not actually dishonest, penny and to put their profits before their national interests. Then again, Belgium had foresworn her post-war treaties and agreements and had reverted to an isolated armed neutrality.

All this adds up to the fact that the "devil-take-the-hindmost" attitude, which scrupulously ignores any treaties liable to be of national inconvenience, has spread its contagion even to England; nations are not yet ready to fight, but the chances of preventing them from ultimately doing so have declined correspondingly.

### **Non-Intervention Passes**

On October 14, Russia demanded that the other Great Powers show their sincerity by instituting a munitions blockade of Portugal by British and French navies. She had little reason to expect that the proposal would find acceptance, for Great Britain was patently unwilling to go to lengths which would offend Germany and Italy. It was surprising, however, that the British should refuse a meeting on the grounds that Portugal had not answered the complaints made—as if she were expected to establish the case against herself.

After a period of further charges and counter-charges, Russia once again toned down her demands; Great Britain was prodding the fascists for satisfactory answers to accusations against them and seemed willing to take a firmer stand, while the Soviet was not anxious to run counter to France, Czechoslovakia, and Great Britain. However, on October 23, Russia served notice that she could not feel bound to respect the agreement "to any greater extent than the remaining participants." On the following day, Great Britain

brought to the attention of the committee four cases of alleged intervention—three attributed to Russia, one to Italy.

On October 28, the committee whitewashed Italy and Portugal of charges made against them, although a *New York Times* correspondent, who had evaded the censorship, was at that moment penning a detailed report to the contrary.

Russia herself was finally given absolution by the committee, but there was no reasonable room for doubt as to where the sympathies of the English Government lay in the matter. And, since Great Britain had virtually dictated French neutrality, under threat of withdrawing her guarantee of assistance against Germany, Russia necessarily stood alone. What she would, or what she could, do about it, remained to be seen.

### **Fascist Entente**

Encouraged by their successes in Spain, on October 25 Germany and Italy concluded an agreement, designed to consolidate the German-Austro-Hungarian-Italian fascist bloc, which, for the time being at any rate, may be considered a working entente.

Germany was to recognize Italy's Ethiopian empire, in return for which she was to receive certain economic concessions there. Spain's territorial and colonial integrity was to be maintained. This measure was to soothe the nerves of the democratic powers, which feared that Germany and Italy would be granted bases in Spanish Morocco and the Balearics as a result of a rebel victory. Nevertheless, General Franco will be hard put to find means of paying off the allies who insured his success, particularly if the Spanish Government succeeds in removing the gold reserves from Madrid. It is therefore impossible to believe that Germany and Italy will not receive substantial advantages in the Mediterranean—possibly in the form of airports in the Balearics, less probably in the cession of Ceuta to the colony-demanding Reich, but almost surely in the free use of Spanish ports in case of war.

Apart from the general clause providing for mutual collaboration in matters concerning their parallel interests, the three remaining sections of the treaty deal with what is implicitly its paramount objective—the break-up of the Franco-Soviet alliance. To this end, the two nations are to defend European civilization against communism, work toward the

conclusion of a new Locarno pact, which would exclude Russia, as a basis of European peace, and cooperate economically in the Danubian region within the framework of the Rome protocols and the Austro-German agreement of July 11.

This last condition is potentially the most effective in the agreement. Based upon Germany's economic penetration in that region and pointed up by Mussolini's suggestion of the territorial satisfaction of Hungary, it would attempt to wean the Little Entente away from France and completely sever the latter from the Soviet.

### Fascist Hopes and Setbacks

The fascist tide has been running high. The Spanish war definitely promises the surrounding of France by fascist powers, while German and Italian influence in the Mediterranean, once assured, would cut her off from her sources of troops in Africa, where, incidentally, French officers are reported planning a *coup* to parallel that of Franco in Spain. Degrelle had been making progress in Belgium and had been, in no small measure, responsible for that country's declaration of neutrality, which deprived France of an assured war-time ally and pulled out another prop from under what little remained of the collective system. Great Britain, despite a sudden awakening of the Labor opposition,

who demanded the lifting of the embargo on Madrid, had shown marked friendliness to the rebel cause in Spain. Then again, the Catholic Church had come to terms with Hitler as the embodiment of anti communism; the Papal Pro-Russian Commission, originally formed to assist Czarist emigrés, was carrying on active propaganda in Poland, Belgium, and Czechoslovakia; associations such as "Pro Deo" had started in Switzerland and were spreading; finally, Catholic-communist cooperation for humanitarian purposes—one of the factors making for the success of the French Popular Front—had been expressly forbidden by the Vatican. All this was not necessarily pro-fascist, but it was irrefutably devoted to the purpose of enrolling the voters against communism, the arch-enemy, which was definitely on the retreat.

Mussolini felt strong enough to challenge Great Britain in the Mediterranean, but he was still careful to hold out an olive branch at the same time. Germany, too, needed the friendship of Great Britain, which was in a key position to make possible the isolation of Russia from any European settlement, toward which events seemed to be marching; Von Ribbentrop was sent over as ambassador to cultivate that friendship.

However, the plans for gaining Great Britain's favor went awry. Von Ribbentrop landed in England and stepped off on the wrong foot



AS ONE TO ANOTHER

Birmingham Gazette

immediately by lecturing the English on the communist menace to the British Empire. Rebel ferocities in Spain did not impress public opinion. Mussolini's bombast about the Mediterranean touched a sensitive British nerve. But what was probably more impelling in inducing Anthony Eden to give a direct refusal to the proposal to isolate Russia, was the growing realization that the face of what would be a fairly even struggle between Great Britain and France and the two fascist powers would be overwhelmingly changed by the introduction of the Russian forces—particularly in the air.

Once again, the fascist dictators seem to have overstepped themselves. But they have done it before and, on the present horizon, there is no firm opposition in sight.

## Great Britain

NATIONAL pride was hurt by having to admit the necessity of enlisting American help in order to reach the goal of an additional 1,500 first-line airplanes, with a reserve of 4,500 by 1937. But, across the Rhine, Germany had accelerated production; at home, a strike threatened, skilled labor was scarce, and the much-vaunted "shadow scheme" had been shown up by Lord Nuffield.

This last plan calls for the subsidized construction of seven "shadow" factories for the production of aircraft engines. Each is to turn out a specific part—one the cylinders, another the crankshafts, and so forth. Five motor manufacturers and the Bristol Aeroplane Company have signed up, and are said to have proposed this "seven-unit" scheme. Lord Nuffield's complaint was this: Foreseeing the need for airplane engines in 1929, he had constructed the Wolsey factory. Since then the Government had turned down repeated offers to supply engines at, or below, the prices then being paid by the Air Ministry (which the "English Henry Ford" felt were too high). Finally the Government had asked him to surrender the fruits of his foresight and erect a "unit" factory at their expense, leaving the Wolsey plant idle.

The suspicion that politics was jeopardizing the rearmament program disturbed the public; what was equally alarming was Lord Nuffield's demonstration that in time of war the destruction of a single factory in the

chain would render the whole "shadow scheme" abortive. Sir Thomas Inskip managed to soothe the irritation between Lord Nuffield and the Air Ministry, and it was announced that the Wolsey factory would be given contracts for Army supplies. But doubts as to the efficacy of the whole program continued unabated.

In the face of the great rearmament administration already set up under Sir Thomas Inskip, the report of the royal commission, appointed more than a year and a half ago to investigate the armaments industry, could not have been expected to take much effect, even had it decided that England should follow the French example and nationalize the business—which it did not.

Also caught up in the swirl of rearmament was the League of Nations Union. A year ago, it encompassed the downfall of Sir Samuel Hoare and nearly that of the National Government. Today its membership and funds are melting; the crusading pacifists are turning to the International Peace Movement—a body which is more strongly anti-fascist than anti-war and which is not therefore likely to offer the same opposition to bigger and better armaments.

## France

THERE is an ominous groundswell in French politics, but on the surface Premier Leon Blum is finding quieter waters.

The preeminent reason for an outwardly stable political situation was the outcome of the Radical-Socialist conference, held October 22-25. Strong anti-communist feeling was evident, but support of the Government was voted on condition that extremist agitation and stay-in strikes be suppressed, and that a "sound" budget be enacted. It was perfectly clear that the party has little love for the Communist element in the Popular Front; nevertheless, the fear of the political chaos which would succeed a break-up of the present administration prevented them from carrying their hatred to the point of political action.

The Communists, for their part, have been declining in the Government's favor. The 122 meetings scheduled for Alsace-Lorraine October 11-12 were ordered reduced to 10. The Communists, piqued, complained that this put them in the same class as the fascists, whose demonstrations had been banned but



a week before. The fact of the matter was, however, that the Government feared to provoke the strong Catholic and pro-Nazi groups in that province. As it was, the German press whipped itself into a frenzy over such meetings as were held. The joke was that M. Thorez' speech was simply a series of quotations from Herr Hitler; the more serious aspect was that it showed how much Germany would welcome an excuse to regain the iron and steel resources of that province.

As Parliament opened, M. Blum faced

another epidemic of stay-in strikes occasioned by the dismissal of 775 men by the Panhard company. The Government is pledged to evict such strikers, but their numbers in this case will make such action extremely difficult. The situation will cause more difficulty with the Communists, but the latter have been more vocal of late on the question of intervention in Spain. On both scores M. Blum is likely to continue his moderate trend toward the Radical-Socialist rather than the left-wing elements of the Popular Front.



Il 420, Florence

**IN THE BLUM CLINIC**

**Salengro:** "Suppose we try removing the communism?"  
**Blum:** "But suppose he dies under the knife?"

## Belgium

**K**ING LEOPOLD'S declaration of Belgian neutrality can be explained in terms of the League's failure to prevent the remilitarization of the Rhineland and the fear that the Franco-Soviet pact might drag the nation into a war which didn't concern her. It can also be attributed to three distinctly domestic factors: (a) the Flemish population leans toward Germany; (b) the Catholic crusade against communism has aroused the suspicions of many good Belgian Catholics against France under the Popular Front; (c) the new Rexist Party was making capital of both these sentiments and had to be circumvented.

The Rexist march on Brussels October 25 proved a fiasco, and Leon Degrelle, the leader, ended up in jail. The Government was fully prepared for the attempted *coup* and acted firmly and effectively; nevertheless the new movement was scotched rather than killed, and a brief account of this recruit to European fascism is relevant.

### "Christus Rex"

Leon Degrelle started out as a vociferous, but dubiously regarded, member of the Belgian Catholic Party—the leader of the insignificant "Christus Rex" faction which aimed at cleansing the party of impurities.

Failing to gain a place on the Catholic list for the 1936 election, Degrelle's ambitions grew wider. Dropping "Christus" from the party label—presumably at the instigation of the Church—he launched a muckraking campaign, aimed at the Catholics and then, as the elections grew nearer, extended to Liberals and Socialists. Obviously well financed, the movement made considerable headway, although only obtaining 10% of the total poll.

During the summer after the election, Degrelle seemed destined for oblivion. This fate he avoided however, by initiating an unprecedentedly violent anti-communist campaign. Actually, Communists only account for about 7% of the Belgian electorate; the population is, by and large, a contented one, for the Van Zeeland Government has made praiseworthy progress toward reform and recovery. Nevertheless, Degrelle had several factors in his favor: His movement coincided with the Pope's crusade in an overwhelmingly Catholic nation; short-sighted capitalists jumped on the bandwagon; the Franco-Soviet pact was

drawn as a force which would lead Belgium into war with Germany and possibly to bolshevism. Further, Degrelle, if poor in scruples, was rich in funds and enjoyed financial support from Germany as well as the assistance of Nazi agents in Belgium.

However, he made two slips. His September 27 visit to Berlin was revealed just before the attempted *coup*; and the alliance he concluded with the pro-German Flemish separatists seemed to loyal Belgians strangely inconsistent with his nationalist professions.

At the moment, he is at a discount; but his fascism is still a force to be reckoned with in Belgian politics.

## Germany

**T**HE slogan, "guns instead of butter", was firmly stamped upon the German economy by the appointment of Colonel General Hermann Goering to carry out the Nuremberg four-year plan.

As a virtual dictator of the internal economy of Germany, Goering will be the person to determine how fast Germany will rearm, whether she will inflate or deflate, what share of the national income will go to capital and what to labor. He will hold the balance between the "Nationalists", who lean toward capitalism, and the "Socialists", who call for a completely state-controlled economy; between the German industrialists and Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, who demand orthodox finances and regard economic isolation as a temporary expedient, and the Nazi extremists, who demand self-sufficiency at any cost and by any financial means.

As a military man, it is clear that Goering will speed rearmament at all costs and will concentrate his efforts upon making impossible a blockade of Germany during war time. (See *Germany Tightens Her Belt*, Page 69.) His program will call for the intensified production of raw materials at home, with particular respect to the development of oil from coal, synthetic rubber, and other *Ersatz* substances; the adaptation of German industries to these materials; the prevention of waste; and rigid price and wage control.

To a large measure, this means a defeat for Dr. Schacht, who has been opposed to the four-year plan from the start insofar as it involves, according to the estimates of its proponents, the expenditure of from 3,000,000,000

to 5,000,000,000 marks. However, Dr. Schacht's good offices have been retained, reportedly on condition that all expenditures are covered either by new taxation or by savings in other directions. In addition, Wilhelm Keppler, Herr Hitler's personal economic adviser and a foe of Dr. Schacht, has been removed from office.

Nor can it be said that the plan is unmiti-

gatedly isolationist. The demand for colonies, although subdued for diplomatic reasons, still persists in the Nazi intentions, while even extreme autarchists look to the establishment of a regional Central European economy, in which Germany could obtain assured supplies of the foodstuffs she needs from her neighbors. The application of this principle to the Danube Basin was one of the subjects included



MODERN ECONOMICS

United Feature Syndicate

in the German-Italian agreement of October 25.

If the democratic countries have moved towards a freer international economy, it is apparent that the authoritarian states east of the Rhine are planning a counter-bloc, in which economic objectives will be subjected to political ends.

## Far East

ON OCTOBER 31, General Chiang Kai-Shek celebrated his fiftieth birthday.

The event was distinguished by beligerent anti-Japanese demonstrations. Posters depicting the General summoning China to fight the menace to the North lined the streets; a popular fund promised to donate 50 new bombing planes to the anti-Japanese cause. One of the General's lieutenants had been assassinated for suspected pro-Japanese activities, and a few days later another Japanese citizen was stabbed in Shanghai. There was no mistaking the temper of the Chinese people; and, if, as it is said, Chiang Kai-Shek had pledged himself, at the grave of Sun Yat Sen, to unify his country no matter what the cost, he had reason to congratulate himself upon the unprecedented success of his mission.

What appeared to be a new climax of Chinese nationalist sentiment had inevitable repercussions upon the current Sino-Japanese negotiations. Tariff revision was the only item upon which any agreement was reached. Beyond this, the Chinese are now more adamant in claiming recognition of China's, and not Japan's "special position" in North China; this demand she backed up by a strong protest against the Japanese military maneuvers in Peiping and Tientsin, where strong garrisons have been established for reinforcing the Japanese position in the north. China has further refused to join hands with Japan in an anti-communist crusade for fear that it might involve her in war with Soviet Russia as well as deprive her of an invaluable anti-Japanese asset—the Chinese Red armies.

Two other factors operated in Chiang Kai-Shek's favor. Although Great Britain disclaimed any intention of invoking the Nine Power Treaty to protect her rights in China, she nevertheless addressed to the Japanese Foreign Office a note protesting against Japanese activities in the Yangtse valley. Of more

substantial assistance was her announcement of commercial credits for China, a move which must stiffen resistance in that country.

A second factor was Premier Hirota's success in warding off the demands of the Japanese Army for a reorganization of the Government which would give the military element substantially enlarged powers. The Japanese civilian and military groups do not differ in their conception of Japan's ultimate position on the continent; but they disagree as to the speed and the methods by which it is to be attained.

This civilian victory in Japan will afford Chiang Kai-Shek time to build up the defenses of his nation. And the British credits will help make that task financially possible.

## Pan America

TWO events should prove of inestimable worth to the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, which is to hold its opening session at Buenos Aires on December 1. (See *Peace and the Americas*, Page 57). The first is the overwhelming re-election of President Roosevelt, involving as it did a thorough endorsement of the "good neighbor" policy, to cement which the conference was held. The second was the decision of the President to deliver the opening address. Secretary of State Hull will be in active charge of the United States delegation, but the President's presence, even though informal, inevitably will lend prestige to the conference.

The United States delegation is not expected to assume an aggressive policy at the conference; rather, it will content itself with supporting such measures raised by other delegations as it deems worth while. However, it will take a definite stand on the question of limitation of armaments, making it clear that the United States defenses must be measured, not only in relation to American nations, but also with an eye to her wider interests in the rest of the world. It remains to be seen whether Mr. Hull's delegation will take the lead in proposing the adoption by the twenty-one nations concerned of an equivalent of the Monroe Doctrine. It is more probable that they will actively suggest to the conference the general adoption of neutrality legislation paralleling that now in force at Washington.



# The Realm of Science

LIKE most reports emanating from the Soviet Union the outline of science for the third five-year plan is tremendous. It is so enlightened and so completely subsidized that unregenerate capitalistic sinners may well look to the future and wonder what punishment it holds for their wasteful scientific hodge-podge. Today the Soviet Union is foremost in the deference accorded scientific research by government. From the first and second five-year plans science emerged as an indispensable tool destined to play the dominant role in the third five-year plan. Stalin, among others, recognized science as the evolutionary leaven to twentieth century progress. More than 250 laboratories throughout the Union are testament to the certain unique abilities of totalitarian states for turning decision into accomplished fact. For complete harmony and synthesis each one of the laboratories is subordinate and responsible to the Academy of Science, an institution two centuries old.

Within the last decade the academy has been rehabilitated to where the caliber and ability of its researchers is second to none. And despite Bukharin's pronouncement of 1932 that "science for science's sake is rubbish," the academy has encouraged an intense cultivation of pure science with a surprising success in the field of atomic physics. Statistically this scientific beginning in the third five-year plan finds the academy with an able though numerically small total of ninety-eight members with 1,558 subsidiary workers and researchers spotted in key positions.

## Scientific Goal

As with all Soviet planning, whether in the manufacture of tooth-picks or tractors, a scientific goal has been set and a scientific concept approved as a basis for progress. Accepting the tenet that energy is the base upon which mechanized society is constructed, the Soviet researchers have been directed to place primary emphasis upon energy—electric energy.

Such a conception will necessitate the unlimited development of water power and fuel resources. In fact some of the academy's engineers go so far as to envisage a colossal grid of energy covering all of Soviet Russia—a simple electric system with interconnected central stations and regional pools of energy. Since the Soviets swear that their country must lead the world in the generation and utilization of power, they may be depended upon to push this type of distribution to the extreme.

None doubt that war or fear of war is the motivation behind the academy's desire for power and more power. In any crisis industrial regions poorly supplied with fuel because of inadequate transport, present a dangerous weakness. Immediate and ranking plans call for the intense electrification of trunk lines to abolish once and for all this weak link in the chain of defensive strategy.

With power as the base Soviet research stems into hundreds of practical fields. Natural resources are scheduled for an exploitive assault never before attempted even in the hard-pressed Germany. Coal mines will be ignited and sealed in order to create huge underground gasometers available for use at will. Building upon the research of others the Soviets will seek to discover just how nature formed coal and petroleum, determining in this way to utilize the components of the crude product more sanely. As an indication of what can be done it will be recalled that Professor Bergius has already converted coal into synthetic gasoline, synthetic alcohol and synthetic lubricating oil.

To meet the demand for improved agricultural methods the Genetics Institute has been pressed into service. Even now it is suspected that the Soviets lead the world in breeding new varieties of plants and animals adapted to specific regions. It is rumored that in the future we will hear more of Arctic wheat, of goats and sheep with longer and curlier hair, of cotton to challenge the superiority of the Sea Island and Egyptian product.

### ***Vernalization***

Only recently the Stakhanov plan has been applied to plant life through a "vernalization" process. In principle it is the retardation of seed germination by insufficient soaking, low temperatures and other methods which induce premature flowering and fruiting. Although as a technique it gets surprising results, the causative agent or agencies is still a mystery. D.N.G. Cholodny of the Laboratory of Plant Physiology, Academy of Sciences, Kiev, reports that a higher concentration of growth hormone in the cells of the embryo may be the explanation.

Soviet physicists among other things will do their part through the study of ultra sounds, those uncanny sounds that are inaudible but capable of decomposing liquids and sterilizing milk. In this research the Soviets will make use of the exhaustive studies which Dr. Alfred Loomis and Prof. R. W. Wood of this country have already made.

Thus the five-year plan of science outlines objectives that will stir researchers throughout the world. Americans, at least, may fretfully look to the billions poured into public works while their own science is almost wholly ignored. It is also probable that in a generation the subsidized and directed research of the Soviets will lead the world.

### ***Big Heads***

In the Aleutian Islands Dr. Ales Hrdlicka, of the Smithsonian Institution unearthed the largest skull on record in the Western Hemisphere. Its proportion implies a brain capacity of 2,005 cubic centimeters, a mere twenty-five cubic centimeters less than that of the Russian novelist Turgeniev, largest on record.

Dr. Hrdlicka remarks: "There is a rough correlation between brain size and intelligence in normal human beings. Such a vast superiority in this extinct man in the former was almost certainly attended by superiority in the latter."

There is some basis for the doctor's thesis since the ancient Aleuts were comparatively intelligent. Remnants of the civilization found in deposits of Aleut material indicate a tool making creature with some scientific curiosity. There is evidence that the Aleut went so far as to crack open the skulls of seals in an effort to discover the reason for the animal's acute hearing.

However, excessive brain capacity does not presuppose genius. The acutely philosophical

Hindu performs metaphysical wonders with subnormal equipment while the sluggish Eskimo boasts a brain far above the average in weight. Innumerable statistics of this nature relegate huge skulls to the category of the merely curious. For instance, compared with the record-breaking weight of 74 ounces for Turgeniev, Thackeray did well with 58.6 ounces; while Napoleon, whose reputation for intelligence is still in debate, had a 68.5 ounce brain, Walt Whitman struggled along with only 45.3 ounces.

Various explanations account for this disparity. It is said that intelligence depends not so much on the mass as on the cortex, a "bark" sheathing the convolution of the cerebral hemisphere. Another theory, taking into account the synthesis and interdependency of physiological structure, maintains that if man is to be articulate he must have a proper jaw; the right conformation of vocal organs; the right hands; the right eyes, etc.

### ***Mind and Body***

To further establish this latter thesis of the inseparable interconnection of mind and body, Sir Joseph Barcroft, Noble Prize winner, reports a series of brilliant experiments with sheep. By stimulating an embryo still one hundred days from birth, Barcroft observed nature at work establishing the delicate relations of mind to body. Almost the first movement of a newborn lamb is an attempt to rise from the ground, first on the forelegs and then on the hind quarters. Under stimulus Barcroft saw the embryo attempt a similar movement. Another stimulus and the embryo went through the motion of breathing although there was nothing to breathe. A more powerful stimulus made the embryo pant as though out of breath.

Experimenting with a more advanced foetus Barcroft discovered that lessening of oxygen made it behave as it had done at an earlier period of gestation. "We can turn back the clock," Barcroft points out; "we can remove the cause, whatever it may be, of the suppression of function; we can indeed produce irritability."

### ***Freezing to Death***

To further the study of the precise interconnection of mind and the internal environment of the body Barcroft deliberately froze himself nearly to death. In this way he demon-

strated to his own satisfaction, at least, that with man any bodily alteration profoundly affects the mind. Human intellectual development and motility depend on the temperature and the other factors of his internal environment remaining constant—one degree of fever will affect the mental processes.

Barcroft said in describing his feelings during the near-freezing: "Up to the point at which shivering ceased, nature fought the situation; my instinct was to be up and about, an effort of will was necessary to remain the subject of the experiment; after that point I gladly acquiesced, initiative had gone.

"And I was conscious of other reversions of mental state: not only was there a physical ex-

tension of the limbs, but with it came a change in the general mental attitude. The natural apprehension lest some person alien to the experiment should enter the room and find me quite unclad disappeared."

Barcroft concluded from this experiment that the immediate effect of interference with the chemical or physical properties of the blood is a general impairment of the higher qualities of the mind. "The thoughts of the human mind," he reported, "its power to solve differential equations, or to appreciate exquisite music, involve some physical or chemical pattern, which would be blurred in a milieu itself undergoing violent disturbances."

W. CARROLL MUNRO

## Highlights of the Law

OF MAJOR concern to American business today is the recently enacted Robinson Patman law. Essentially, the bill represents an attempt to extend to the chain-store system the principles of the Sherman Anti-Trust laws and the Clayton Act.

These earlier anti-trust regulations sought to protect the consumer and the independent against the nullification of competition by price, production, and sales agreements and, later, by combinations, trusts, incorporated holding companies, and mergers. The Robinson Patman Act deals with a similar problem.

Today, the chain-store system has played havoc with the independent dealer. These vast organizations enjoy advantages through large-scale merchandising which would-be competitors cannot share. Not only can they obtain goods at lower costs, commanding discounts not available to the smaller purchaser, but they also purchase directly from the manufacturer, either eliminating brokerage charges or stipulating that the goods be brokered through a subsidiary. They can undermine competitors by varying prices between different cities or within the same city, low prices in one locality being offset by higher prices elsewhere. They profit from advertising allowances not available to the small dealer.

The Robinson Patman law would equalize the advantages and disadvantages of this system. It supplements the existing laws against unlawful restraints and monopolies and prohibits devices that have grown up under the Clayton Act. To achieve its objective, it would "strengthen existing anti-trust laws, prevent unfair price discriminations, and preserve competition in interstate commerce."

The law concerns itself first with the sale of products of like quality at different prices. This price differential is declared unlawful where it tends to create monopoly in interstate commerce or to injure, destroy, or substantially prevent competition. It is, however, permissible when: (1) it is a quantity discount not exceeding the difference in cost of manufacture, sale, or delivery; (2) it relates to a different method of operation or dealing and does not exceed the resulting difference in cost of manufacture, sale, or delivery; (3) it represents a price change in response to changing market conditions; (4) it involves services or allowances which are available in equal proportions to all purchasers.

In short, the act looks to the establishment of a price structure of the type of a single list price with reasonable and uniform discounts, adequately related to costs. The law, however, does not affect the manner in which various

industries compete to capture the market; low prices and intensified advertising may, and undoubtedly will, be resorted to.

In the field of brokerage and commissions, the advantages enjoyed by large firms over their smaller competitors are to be restricted. The payment or receipt of commissions and brokerage is to be limited to compensation for services actually rendered, and the seller is forbidden to pay brokerage to the agent of the buyer, or vice versa. Thus the payment of fees through dummy agencies which perform no service is eliminated.

These clauses will tend to reduce the differences in net prices as between large and small purchasers. Commentators do not, however, expect a change in the level of the *average* prices; after the initial period of readjustment they will continue to move up or down, according to the nature of the industry and market conditions, as before.

The act may stimulate the development of trade standards and strengthen the trend towards a one-price policy. The existing spread between prices of different quantities, and the offer of free deals when certain quantities are purchased cannot be restricted to special customers. Individual sellers will be stimulated to record market data more systematically, and manufacturers will give their prices greater publicity, if only as a defense against charges of misrepresenting prices. It is expected that advertising bonuses will be limited or withdrawn.

It is clear, however, that there will be many difficulties in the administration of the law. Price discrimination may be camouflaged by including essentially similar products in different grades and qualities. Again, distributors may acquire manufacturing plants or contract for the whole output of a plant, limiting the product to a single channel. Finally, manufacturers will probably concentrate upon particular classes of customers, confining their sales exclusively to wholesalers or mass distributors.

From the legal point of view, the law has been criticized as a "maze of inconsistencies" and "shot through with unconstitutionality." It is unanimously agreed to be confusing and believed by many to be impractical. The Clayton Act is enlarged to make buyers equally guilty with sellers if they induce or knowingly accept unjustified discounts or rebates. Injury to a single competitor, and not to the competitive field generally, is declared not only illegal

but actionable. While the Clayton Act involved only civil consequences for a violator, the present law adds a criminal penalty—a fine of not more than \$5,000 and/or one year in prison. What is more significant is that the burden of proving justification of price discrimination is laid upon the party against whom a case has been made before the Federal Trade Commission; in other words, the presumption of innocence, hitherto an inviolate right under our law, has been discarded.

Though it is entirely too early to expect an authoritative explanation of this latest attempt at Federal supervision of business, the potential consequences of the Robinson Patman law appear to be more serious for the business man than those of the Prohibition Act or the National Recovery Act.

### **Labor Relations Act**

Pending before the Federal Supreme Court, among a list of New Deal cases, is one in which the Associated Press is questioning the validity of the National Labor Relations Act and the application of the act to its relations with editorial employees and another in which a lumber company is seeking to enjoin proceedings by that board.

The National Labor Relations Act insures the right of collective bargaining through representatives of labor's own choice. It arose out of section 7a of the National Recovery Act and provides permanent machinery for dealing with certain issues in labor relations arising in the process of collective bargaining.

The Board created under section 3 of the Act is to function as an independent quasi-judicial body somewhat like the Federal Trade Commission. The first complaint of any violation of the act is made to the Regional Board, 17 of which have been set up and operate in 21 cities. A review of the boards may be obtained by appeal to the National Labor Board, if deemed necessary, in the interests of justice. The board is empowered to prevent such unfair labor practices as: (1) interferences with, restraint or coercion of employers in the exercise of their rights of collective bargaining; (2) domination or interference with the formation or administration of any labor organization; (3) discrimination in regard to hire or tenure of employment designed to discourage membership in labor organizations. To enforce their regulations, labor boards under the NRA had to resort to a cumbersome procedure dependent upon the Department of Justice.



Though the new act provides no criminal penalties for violations, it permits the board to move more freely than its predecessors in the execution of its decisions by the issuance after a hearing on the evidence of "cease and desist" orders for failure to follow the order. The Circuit Court of Appeals may enjoin the enforcement of the decision.

The two fundamental issues on which the constitutionality of the act is challenged are: (1) that the employer-employee relationship is not the subject of Federal legislation under the Commerce Clause of the Constitution, which gives Congress power over interstate commerce; and (2) that the powers vested in the board amount to a taking of property without due process of law.

The United States Supreme Court held in *Hammer v. Dagenhart* that conditions in manufacturing exert only an indirect effect upon interstate commerce and therefore are not subject to Federal legislative control. The compulsory pension law for employees on interstate railroads was struck down in a 5-4 decision because the law was essentially related to the welfare of the worker and entirely "outside the orbit of congressional power." A similar fate befell the National Industrial Recovery Act and the Guffey coal cases. Mr. Justice Sutherland, referring to the evils arising from struggles between employers and employees, said: "... the evils are all local evils over which the Federal government has no legislative control. The relationship between employer and employee is a local relationship. ... Such effects as these [controversies and evils] may have on commerce, however intensive it may be, is secondary and indirect ..."

Though the board is already enmeshed in a maze of litigation, the Circuit Court of Appeals has thus far favored it by denying temporary injunctions sought against it, and the trend of decisions in the District Courts seems definitely to have turned against enjoining the board.

The special significance of the law is its reflection of labor's dependence upon governmental aid to organize the mass production industries. The act has been vigorously attacked as vesting authority to determine the form and character of labor organizations in the Labor Board. If the unions are unable to make adjustments necessary to provide for orderly collective bargaining, the board, it is feared, may assume full power in designating bargaining units and thus affect the very structure of

trade unions. The act will stimulate improved personnel practices and compel company unions to act as the real bargaining agencies dealing with wages, laws, and conditions of employment. On the other hand, dependence on governmental aid may bring in its wake a greater dependence of labor on political alignments.

### Blood Tests

Scientists have in recent years confirmed the old adage that "blood will tell." The Legislature of N. Y. has followed suit by a statute providing for blood tests to establish in bastardy cases that the accused could not be the father of the child. This recent development in the law of evidence was made possible by the discovery at the beginning of the twentieth century by Karl Landsteiner of the Rockefeller Institute, that human blood is divided into four groups characterized by the possession or non-possession of certain substances in the serum and the corpuscles of the blood. When a little blood of one is added to a little blood of another, either the two bloods will mix fully, or the red cells of the mixture will lump together and form a sediment, leaving a clear liquid. This phenomenon, called agglutination, is the basis of the blood group test. From it, scientists have deduced four blood groups: O, A, B, and AB, into one of which every human being falls. Additional investigation has imparted definite legal value to this principle of the individuality of blood by proving that the blood groups remain constant throughout life, despite age, disease, and environmental conditions. The discovery that it is possible to determine the blood group of dried blood, even though it had been subjected to the elements for long periods of time or to moderate extremes of heat or cold, renders the test even more reliable. Where it is possible to obtain the blood of the two adults and the child, conclusive evidence against parentage can be obtained in many cases. Thus, where the accused belonged to Group A and the woman (prosecutrix) to group O and the child to Group B, the true father could only belong to Group B or Group AB. On the other hand, had the accused been found to belong to Group B or Group AB, such finding, in itself, would not prove that he was the true father any more than another man belonging to either of these groups. Blood grouping, therefore, can be used *only to exclude* and not to establish paternity.

The conclusions of these scientists, accepted wholeheartedly by continental courts, have not met with the approval of Anglo-American juries. Though the principles were irrefutable, the theories and postulates explaining them were in conflict. And this conflict the legal world interpreted as uncertainty, entailing the consequent unreliability of the tests as evidence in a court of law.

That the court has the power to order such tests is conceded by authority and precedent. To aid in the administration of justice, plaintiffs have been required to submit to physical examination before medical experts on motion by the defendant, when necessary to a complete determination of facts. Since it is but natural that a litigant knowing his or her status should prefer the uncertainty of a jury trial to the accuracy of scientific tests, the future utility of these tests may depend on the willingness of the courts to compel their use.

The first American decision in point came from South Dakota. In *State v. Damm*, the defendant was charged with rape and accused of being the father of the prosecutrix's child. At the first trial (1933) the court refused the defendant's offer to submit to a blood test and his request that a similar test be made on the prosecutrix and her child to determine whether he could have been the father. Said the court: "We think it insufficiently appears that the validity of the proposed tests meets with such generally accepted recognition as a scientific fact among medical men as to say that it con-

stituted an abuse of discretion for a court of justice to refuse to take cognizance thereof, as would undoubtedly be the case if a court today refused to take cognizance of the accepted scientific fact that the fingerprints of no two individuals are in all respects identical. We therefore find no error."

On a rehearing in 1936, however, the same court said: "We . . . say, without further elaboration or discussion, that it is our considered opinion that the reliability of the blood test is definitely, and indeed unanimously, established as a matter of expert scientific opinion entertained by authorities in the field, and we think the time has undoubtedly arrived when the results of such tests made by competent persons and properly offered in evidence, should be deemed admissible in a court of justice whenever paternity is in issue."

The contribution of science to the field of demonstrative evidence has mounted during the past few decades. Devices for detection and identification by secret automatic cameras, photographs, X-rays, and ultra-violet of otherwise invisible material, spectograms, stereo-photogrammetric drawings, and motion pictures have been held admissible as trustworthy evidence. With the advancement of science and the liberalism of the courts in availing themselves of accredited scientific aids, ordering of blood tests in the rapidly mounting filiation cases probably will become the rule rather than the reluctant exception.

BENJAMIN WERNE

# On the Religious Horizon

THE Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Cicognani, agent of the purely spiritual authority of the Roman Catholic Church, speaking in the name of that authority to the delegates to the National Council of Catholic Women, said that the supreme issue today, here as elsewhere, is the struggle of the Church against the effects of "the denial of God, the widespread, vicious, unholy attempts against the Church, against that Christian liberty by which alone salvation can come unto the people, and by which alone civilization can live. . . . You read of the ruthless destruction of churches, of the slaying of religious, of the killing of priests. . . . Can any Christian read of these things and not ask himself what he can do, to end or at least to lessen them?"

"It is our mission in life," the Papal Delegate continued, "our one supreme mission, to live the life of Jesus Christ and show it forth to others. . . . First and above all things, to pray. . . . Prayer is the offensive weapon against the evils of the world, especially in times of stress and crisis. . . . Prayer is active work and more fruitful than the visible work of the hands or the brain. . . . The salvation of nations, our mission as apostles of Christ, will be fulfilled, not by the measure of our own abilities, but by the measure of our prayers."

The *Commonweal*, commenting editorially on these words, said in part: "If they are not true, then it follows that communism, the supreme evil of our age, must be right, and that religion is the opium of the people, doping them with vain illusions, and is not the power of the union of God with man, as established by Jesus Christ in His Church, for the revealing and the employment of truth, and, thereby the dispelling of all illusions. . . .

"To deal effectively with that plague [communism] requires more than expressions of indignation, no matter how eloquent, or of horror, no matter how forcible—or of opposition, unless that opposition be directed by the

spirit of prayer, by the will of the Church."

This excellent example of the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church toward communism, now everywhere evident, from Papal pronouncements to the luncheon conversation of Catholic laymen, has caused some to ask if the Catholic Church is pro-fascist. They want to know, "Has the Church while opposing communism, swung to the other extreme?"

The Church Times (Anglican) finds "reason to fear a world alliance between fascism and the Roman Church."

"That alliance," it goes on to say, "exists in Italy. It now exists in Spain. It is possibly only prevented in Germany by obstinate Nazi folly."

The Bull *Non Abbiamo Bisagno* (June 29, 1931) is very much to the point on this question. Published by "C. T. S." and described as *Concerning Catholic Action*, it is a long and vehement protest by the Pope against outrages preceded by calumny and accompanied by violence committed by a Catholic state run on fascist lines. With great outspokenness, it denounced the monstrous usurpation of "the sacred and inviolable rights of souls and of the Church" involved in forcible dissolution, by the fascist government, of all Catholic religious organizations of youth on the plea of "defense of the State."

This Bull exposed the whole endeavor of the criticized government "to monopolize completely the young . . . for the exclusive advantage of a party," as "based on an ideology which clearly resolves itself into a real pagan worship of the state."

While refraining from condemnation of fascism as a whole, The Holy Father points out clearly "what is contrary to Catholic doctrine and practice in the programme and activities of the party."

## Mohammed's Missions

According to reliable reports, the Mohammedan missionaries in Africa are much more effective in making converts than are their

Christian rivals. In Nigeria, for example, it is reported (in the current issue of *The Moslem World*) that ten natives become followers of the Prophet for every one who professes faith in Christ. In other words, a Moslem mission is ten times more effective than the combined forces of all Christian bodies working in Nigeria. One naturally asks, "Why?"

In the first place, Mohammedanism presents a united front. There is no competition between rival groups. A Moslem is one who professes the simple belief that "Allah is One God, and Mohammed is His Prophet." But, if a native becomes a Christian, he may be aligned with any one of a number of "denominations," each striving to *outdo* (and all managing to practically *undo*) the achievements of the others. Islam is the same in Nigeria, China, Arabia, Persia, New York, or anywhere else.

In the second place, the majority of Moslem missionaries in Nigeria, and for that matter in every country, are natives. An African has naturally a better entrée into Nigeria than a foreigner, who is looked upon with suspicion (at least at first). It is only reasonable to expect a native, with the deeper understanding of the background, habits, and mental predispositions of Nigerians, to be the most effective of missionaries.

Another primary reason for the progress of Islam in Nigeria is that every Moslem is an active proselytist. He is imbued with the urgency of making converts of all with whom he comes in contact, whereas the Christian convert leaves the further spread of the Gospel to the work of the Priest or other missionary.

### **United Christian Effort**

The Copper Belt of Northern Rhodesia is to provide an example of united Christian activity. The Church Missionary Society, The Church of Scotland Foreign Missions Committee, the Universities Mission to Central Africa, the London Missionary Society of South Africa, the Baptist Missionary Society of South Africa, and the United Society for Christian Literature are joining in an effort to establish four centers, staff them with missionaries who will work as a team, and form a united Christian organization for the Christianization of the many thousands of native people in the area. Christians throughout the world will watch with interest this effort,

which, if successful, may stimulate movements towards unity in other mission fields.

Of interest to those who work for co-operation among the Christian Churches in America, is the *Statement on Proselytizing* adopted by the House of Bishops (Episcopal) in its annual meeting held in Chicago. Presented by Bishop Wilson of Eau Claire, from the Joint Commission for Conference with the Methodist, Presbyterian, and Lutheran Churches, it clarified the Church's attitude on the subject at the request of the Lutherans. The text of the statement follows:

"The policy of the Episcopal Church is fraternal consideration for people of other Christian bodies. Deploring as we do the divisions which separate the followers of Christ into various denominations, we nevertheless discountenance schemes of proselytizing in order to break down any other religious group. We look for the day when Christian disciples may be joined together in a common faith, a common worship, a common ministry, and a common service. Meanwhile we respect the convictions of those whose allegiance is lodged elsewhere than in the membership of the Episcopal Church. We recognize the right and the responsibility to seek out the unchurched or those who may have drifted from their former connection, but we disapprove of attempts to invade the congregation of an already established Christian work."

The question of the status of the Presiding Bishop was discussed from many points of view at this same meeting of the House of Bishops. No action was taken on this matter, bishops expressing opinions which varied from advocating a system with a strong primate see and a metropolitan for each province to recommending that the Presiding Bishop be merely a presiding officer. Episcopalians and others will watch with interest the progress of these discussions, which may result in some definitive change next year when the triennial meeting of General Convention takes place.

A similar move towards the possibly increasing centralization may be indicated by the proposal to give the Synod Presidents of the United Lutheran Church of America the title of Bishop. This proposal was discussed at the Texas Synod meeting at San Antonio. In certain European countries, this is already the custom. The convention of Lutheran pastors, however, referred the question to the national convention.



### Religion in Russia

The Russian Orthodox Seminary in Paris is an interesting remnant of the Church which formerly claimed "all the Russias." The Dean of this *Institut de Théologie Orthodoxe à Paris*, the Reverend Professor Serge Boulgakoff, recently completed a visit to this country. In an interview with this writer, he said: "Real religion in Russia is more vital today than most people realize. Innumerable priests and a few bishops remain in Russia and minister to the people. During the last three years, they have been given more freedom in the exercise of their ministry. An example of this was seen last Easter, when huge throngs turned out for the first Festival Celebrations in the large city churches since the Revolution."

This confirmed the reports of two delegates (Russian priests) at the Paris meeting of the International Council of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. While not reporting officially to the council, these two expressed a thought which many have had regarding religious conditions in Russia. They said in effect that Russian Christians feel that the Revolution was "the Hand of God, reaching into Russia to purify a corrupt Church, a Church which,

under the Czars since Peter the Great, had been merely an instrument for furthering the designs of the Government." Linked hand in hand with the Government, the Pre-Revolutionary Church in Russia showed no interest in the social, economic, or political welfare of the common people. Since the rise of communism to power, Russian Christians, cleric and lay, have been driven closer together. Out of this association has grown a new attitude on the part of the clergy. Religion in Russia now strives to live the Life of Christ. Laymen are responding to the appeal, and the Church is gradually awakening to its opportunity and its responsibility.

\* \* \*

The 1926 religious survey showed 212 denominations in the United States. Officials expect ten or fifteen more to be reported in the 1936 census. A total of 54,580,000 Church adherents were reported in 1926. That census also revealed 167,000 rural churches and 64,000 urban churches. The city church population, however, was 35,000,000 as compared with 19,000,000 for the country church population. Two years will be required for the 1936 census—one to collect, and one to tabulate, the findings.

REV. WILLIAM BRUCE SHARP

### Moslems versus the West

THE Balfour declaration in Palestine and the division of Syria between France and England gives the Arab the impression that these two countries are exploiting their land for European ends. For these and other causes the Moslem world has decided that Europe is inimical to its best interests. The youth of Islam today is thinking in terms of politics more than religion. He is often far more interested in his nation's welfare than in the spread of Islam. The solidarity of Islam is not a question of caliphate, or the *sheria* (religious law), but almost entirely a matter of political unity in the face of the West.

—The Moslem World



**GOLD TO FRANCE:** Uncle Sam sends five million dollars in gold across the seas. The valuable cargo, securely packed in kegs, is being loaded into the ship's hold.

*Times Wide World*

# ACCORD on MONEY

## *An economist views devaluation and the international agreement*

By H. PARKER WILLIS

**A**FTER a long period of postponement or negotiation, France, Great Britain, and the United States, have entered into a monetary agreement. The facts relating to this agreement have been made public in two communiqués—one dated September 26 and the other October 13. Of these two announcements, the first describes what is called "devaluation", as undertaken by France and assented to by England and the United States, while the second essays to put into effect the process of "stabilization", in which the three countries participate. Several other countries, including Switzerland, Holland, and Italy, have concurred, and have agreed to participate in varying degrees in the new project, while several others have announced programs of devaluation growing out of it and intended to harmonize with it. In a few cases, supplementary processes of stabilization have been added to the devaluation announcements, but all are evidently transitory. They constitute what Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau Jr., has called: "A new type of gold standard," organized "on a twenty-four hour basis."

This description of what has been done, coupled with the fact that so large a group of countries are in one way or another associated with the new program, apparently has been the basis for rather extreme interpretations and for highly optimistic expectations. Some political writers have gone so far as to describe the program as the ending of monetary warfare and the opening of a new era of undisturbed international trade. Others take a different view. One does well therefore to inquire as to what has actually been accomplished.

First of all, let us look at the announcement of September 26, which makes effective the devaluation policy of France and necessitates or entails the devaluation which has been adopted by several other countries. The expectation of results to be obtained through French devaluation are the same that were so generally expressed when devaluation was announced in the United States in January 1934. Relief of debtors from their intolerable burdens to creditors was then the most freely alleged benefit to be expected from devaluation. A close second to it was the raising of prices all around and the closing of the gap between agricultural values and those of manufactured goods. It was further held that a decided advantage in foreign trade would be gained over those countries which had not devalued their currency.

Looking back, it will be seen that devaluation here brought none of these expected results, and this provides a criterion for charting the probable effects of devaluation in other countries. In attempting to apply this criterion, however, Americans must remember that foreign nations which have tried devaluation frequently have had another motive which has not figured very greatly in this country—that of rendering it easier to balance their budgets for the time being, and of affording an auxiliary means for stopping the export of gold which threatened to deplete the stock of the metal which was regarded as a war reserve, or as otherwise essential to national well-being. Certain it is, that these latter motives have figured in an important degree in recent efforts at devaluation. In most countries there is a uniform set of condi-

tions and an identical chain of causation which can be traced. The final result in every case is an act of repudiation whereby debt burdens presumably are lightened and a better start is made toward undercutting other countries in trade competition. This sequence or "technique of devaluation" is well recognized. In several of the European states no less than three formal devaluations have taken place since the close of the World War. It has been customary, first of all, to decide upon a change in the weight of the standard unit—a lighter coin being substituted for a heavier one as a rule—then to seize upon the stock of gold or other standard currency, replacing it on the new and cheaper basis, while the "profit" from the operation was transferred to the public treasury or to the central bank. Finally it has been usual to permit debtors by legislation to settle their obligations in the new and cheaper currency. That in some cases the "profit" thus obtained has been very large, there can be no doubt. In the case of the United States, the indicated "profit" so realized was \$2,800,000,000. France's gain will be smaller because her stock of gold was itself smaller, but it will still be very large. A secondary element in the accounting must also be borne in mind. Since a nation usually has, along with its citizens, a certain amount of indebtedness due to foreigners, while the latter are themselves indebted to the home country or to its citizens on current account, there will remain a net balance, either for or against the country, after each act of devaluation. The aggregate of such profits or of such losses, or the net result of them, represents the final sacrifice or gain of the devaluing country. It is the difference between the repudiation of its own debts which it has arranged, as compared with the repudiation of the debts to it which it finds necessary in practice to allow as an incident to devaluation.

So far as this process of readjusting obligations upon a lower basis is concerned, its consequences have no effect upon the underlying situation. If devaluation were nothing more than a means of clearing off in-

debtedness, the same result might be obtained in some other and probably less troublesome manner, but practical experience with devaluation has shown that its real significance lies in a rather different field. By an act of devaluation, arrangement is made for shifting the basis of all commodity prices. Goods continue to be marked as worth so many dollars, francs, or fractions thereof per unit, but the unit now represents a quantity of gold or other material which is different from its original amount.

These changes in price are dependent upon the varying conditions of competition and of the distribution of goods; they possess no absolute uniformity. One of the most striking results of devaluation where it occurs, therefore, is the difference in degree of effect produced by it upon the price levels of various groups and classes. It is not usually—practically never—successful in bringing about a price advance corresponding to the change in the weight of the unit. The price advance which it causes is ordinarily much greater for one group in the community than for another. Accordingly, the first effect of devaluation is to help some groups by giving them a relatively greater power to command other commodities, while it may impair the position of others by reducing their control over goods in a similar fashion. But it has proven impossible to foretell exactly which group will gain and which will lose in consequence.

Those who call for devaluation, however, are at least nominally more intent upon another kind of readjustment. What happens in real life as a result of devaluation is no such equality of price change as is ordinarily foreshadowed. In practice, "A" may find his load materially lightened through devaluation, while "B" may experience no change in it or, in some circumstances, may find it relatively more burdensome than was originally so. It is only in connection with the settlement of international obligations or, indeed, of any obligations in which adjustments habitually are brought about by settlement in terms of



gold, that devaluation effectively changes anything.

As devaluation is studied in the abstract, it becomes clearer and clearer that its principal result is merely to provide for a re-division of wealth between classes in a community. It is merely a polite contemporary form in which the phenomenon of expropriation makes its appearance. Successive devaluations correspondingly reduce claims of ownership resulting from the efforts of savings of past years upon the current level of production. It is the outcome of a certain subtle plan of class warfare, and it is helpful to those who are economically able to enforce their favorite plan upon those who are less capable of protecting themselves from exploitation. The devaluation movement, which has so widely attracted attention and has so impressed itself upon large aggregates of people in different countries, is simply the expropriation movement—the movement to take accumulations from those who have them and to transfer them to others. As a reasoned method of improving the condition of this class or that class, or of strengthening the position of the producer or laborer, it has been a disappointment in every country where it has been tried. For the time being it may, through irregular price changes, give a temporary advantage to one group and deprive another of a similar advantageous position, but that is all. The outcome in the case of France and of other devaluing countries will be the same as it has been in the United States—a disappointment everywhere.

### Stabilization

The fact that other countries have undertaken to make the same experiment that we have, has only the same interest to the American public that was felt by the fox who had lost his tail in a trap but who persuaded other foxes to cut off their tails in a like manner. What does concern the American citizen, however, is the possibility of keeping the dollar parallel in value to the currency units of the other countries with which it has joined. It is the announce-

ment of October 13 and not that of September 26 which is of significance. Is it feasible to maintain the existing scale of American values at its present level, yet at the same time to enable foreign countries to maintain their prices at a level, and their trade and international gold payments at a volume, which will establish the much-desired "equilibrium" between countries? If this be possible, what will be the price to the participating countries, or to any one of them, of attaining such a result?

The maintenance of such an outcome properly may be called "stabilization"—the keeping of ratios between national currencies (which we call "foreign exchange") at a comparatively fixed or uniform level, so as to enable business men and producers to calculate with certainty conditions of international competition and the maintenance of the market for their output. Can this be done without additional great movements of gold from one country to another? These questions lay at the basis of the anxiety which prevailed for three weeks after September 26, to know exactly what the Government intended to do in practice for these purposes.

The announcement issued by the Treasury Department and by the stabilization funds of France and England on October 13 was nominally intended to furnish the practical details for the working out of the new agreement and to show exactly how business will be done by it in the several countries. It had been supposed that this result would be obtained by granting permission on the part of the several countries for the free exportation of gold in settlement of specified kinds of international transactions, the several governments retaining the right to refuse applications for the export of gold when the transaction to which each might relate did not conform to standard specifications.

The actual text of the announcement, however, follows a totally different line and now provides that as a result of each day's operations, the stabilization funds of the several countries shall agree upon a rate of equivalence among francs, sterling, and dol-

lars, at which each such fund shall reimburse the others for the purchases of its own currency which the others have made. Gold will then be shipped by the central banks of the several countries to the others in accordance with the terms and rate of exchange which are agreed upon from day to day. How would this actually work in practical operation? Presumably, there is no gold in the possession of private traders in France and in the United States. In England what gold is derived from the so-called free-gold market is customarily in the hands of a comparatively small number of persons, or more likely still, may be purchased as it comes to hand by the equalization fund or the Treasury of Great Britain itself. What is now done is to end all private trading and private shipment of gold so far as France and the United States are concerned, and in England to continue the present system of buying gold in the open market while still permitting it to be hoarded by private citizens or shipped by them as the case may be.

There is no agreement on the part of the British that they will fix the weight of the pound sterling or, what is the same thing, keep its value within specified limits; while as for the United States, the Secretary of the Treasury expressly states in the October 13 announcement that there is nothing to prevent him from paying more than the present \$35 an ounce for gold if he chooses or, on the other hand, charging more than \$35 when he releases gold. Substantially then, what the new agreement amounts to is practically to suspend the operations of the exchange market, as we have known it in the past; to say to those who wish to settle their debts abroad in gold that they will be able to buy such portions of the metal as they need from their own local stabilization funds, while in the same way, such gold as is shipped to them they can presumably transfer to their local stabilization funds at an officially established price. In effect, this amounts to taking over international traffic in gold, which is henceforth to be conducted under the auspices of the central banks of the several countries. The stabilization funds, through, or in company with,

the central banks, are the ultimate judges of the rate of exchange, determining whether sterling shall be \$4.86—less, or more—in the American market; whether francs shall be 100 to the pound sterling—less, or more—in the British market. Mr. Morgenthau, in company with the officials of Britain and France, invites other countries to enter the agreement and to embark upon the same régime of control of the ownership and shipment of gold supply as circumstances may require. The assumption, of course, is that the officials in every country will have all knowledge and be able to exercise the best available judgment with regard to the current changes in the price of the local currency as expressed in gold and with respect to the currency and banking conditions, which should give rise to movements of gold. The agreement further presupposes that each of the countries will act in perfect good faith with respect to the others, and will make no effort to furnish exceptional advantages for its exporters or to avoid unusual hardships for its importers.

It is probably true in this case, as in so many others, that if the economic concerns of the world could be dealt with and decided by persons of absolute sincerity, honesty, and the best of sound judgment from time to time, it would be possible, not only to eliminate a great deal of economic friction with a corresponding saving of expense, but it would be likewise feasible to avoid unexpected fluctuations in values. The trouble is that we have never been able to devise a mechanism which would produce these results, and that there is no reason to suppose we can do so now. There have been strong reasons for the movement of gold from country to country. There have been reasons which have led the citizens of one country to decide to invest their property abroad. There have been reasons which have made it desirable for bankers to go to considerable expense and trouble in order to bring about a redistribution of those portions of gold which have figured as "reserves" in bank vaults. The present international agreement furnishes no

ground for thinking that these necessities and influences will now be abrogated or displaced by others. On the contrary, there is every reason to believe that they will continue substantially as heretofore, and that the new mechanism of settlement will have to contend with exactly the same difficulties and will have to adjust and settle exactly the same technical problems which in the past have had to be disposed of by the older mode of adjustment. There will be nothing in the new arrangement, for example, to prevent the citizens of France from feeling doubt concerning the wisdom and justice of their own Government, which has sometimes led them to invest their funds in another country. There will be nothing to prevent citizens of Canada from believing that they would make a better use of their funds by depositing them in American banks, as they often have in the past. And so, when these conditions develop, the stabilization funds of the several countries will find it necessary to adopt one of two courses: (1) Either to refuse to satisfy the demands which are thus brought to bear upon them, or (2) to comply, with the incidental expense and possibility of loss thereby involved. The several stabilization funds, in short, will find themselves practically obliged to absorb losses resulting from changes of valuation in the several countries, shifts in public confidence, and other alterations which in times past have resulted in a shifting of exchange rates leading to expense that was covered and "carried" by the much criticized "speculator." These are prominent facts which cannot be smoothed away and which give rise to sources of expense and loss which must inevitably be provided for or "carried" by someone. That "someone" is now to be the governments of the various countries.

The difficulties and obstacles to the maintenance of any such "gentlemen's agreement" as is now proposed, especially when valid only on a "twenty-four hour basis", are well known, and, in the past, have been so great as to be insuperable. They are likely to continue insuperable, as long as there are differences of price levels, profit-

ableness in business, and confidence in governmental institutions in the various countries. Perhaps the greatest field of success which may be found by the new undertaking will be that of suppressing the withdrawal of capital in the several countries and preventing it from taking effect in exportations of specie. As long as the international agreement can be enforced it may be operative in thus requiring citizens of one country to maintain their goods and specie within the territories of their own nation, thus fulfilling in an economic sense exactly the same services that an armed blockade would perform in preventing the smuggling of goods out of, or of other goods into, a territory which was under martial law.



A careful review of the terms of the new devaluation plan shows that no change whatever has been made by any country except the United States in its previously existing system of trading in gold. The United States now allows the stabilization funds of foreign countries (which amounts to saying, their central banks) to buy gold in the United States and to export it. Great Britain continues to operate upon the same basis as heretofore. It remains to be seen whether France will at any early date fix the theoretical gold weight of the new franc or permit capital to leave France for the United States or elsewhere without hindrance. One of the principal alleged reasons for her devaluation was the desire to stop the leakage of gold to the United States, because of the continuous investment of French capital in this market.

We may well wonder, therefore, whether the new agreement has any definite significance other than the agreement on the part of the United States to permit a part of the great gold hoard at Washington to be shipped abroad. The praise which lavishly has been bestowed upon the new undertaking in various quarters, has been based upon the ability of the three great nations to "get together" in a binding undertaking which shall control the transfers of

capital and money from one to the other in future years. Analysis of the agreement shows that they have entered into no such pact, with the exception of the United States, which expressly asserts that she has done so upon a "twenty-four hour basis", and feels at liberty to rescind the action at any moment desired. It is easy to foreshadow conditions in which this country may find itself impelled to withdraw its participation. One set of motives may easily be furnished by Germany when the time comes for a reorganization of her currency system, or for that matter, by any other nation or group of nations which feels dissatisfied with existing industrial condi-

tions. The far-sighted judges of international monetary operations accordingly will be inclined to view the "tri-partite agreement" not as the beginning of a stabilization period, but rather as the opening of a period of currency warfare which may bring about a condition less satisfactory than that by which it had been preceded. Not least important will be the question whether the people of the United States are inclined to grant to the Secretary of the Treasury the power to devalue the dollar still further in foreign trade, or to revalue it upward as he claims the right to do, independent of the President, in his stabilization statement of October 13.

### Europe's Reichstag Fire

THERE are only very few people here in Vienna \* \* \* who have observed how neatly the Austro-German Agreement preceded the outbreak of the military and Fascist revolt in Spain by one week. It is clear that the German generals were eager to make sure of Austria from a military point of view at almost any price, but this in itself would not account for Hitler's last-minute surrender to all Schuschnigg's demands. It is known, however, that Germany had a share in provoking the conflict in Spain, and it is only too evident that the Spanish Civil War is Hitler's Reichstag Fire for the benefit of Europe. It has worked out splendidly in Austria. Just after the five newspapers from the Reich began to cross the frontier, they arrived big with the iniquities of Russia's henchmen in Spain. A Germany which denounced the enemies of the Spanish Church was utterly reassuring to the powerful group of pro-German Catholics whose mouthpiece is the *Reichspost*. \* \* \* The struggle between Clericals and anti-Clericals in Austria was successfully glossed over, for the pro-German anti-clerical professional and business people were of course delighted that on the Eleventh of July Austria had backed the anti-Communist—indeed the Right—horse in the nick of time.

—*New Statesman and Nation*, October 3, 1936.



# THE SCORE IN SPAIN

*Civil war rushes on to a climax,  
with everybody losing*

By LUDWIG LORE

ONE week before the present Cabinet was formed," Senor del Vayo, Foreign Minister of the Spanish Government told a British newspaperman early in October, "I visited the Madrid aerodromes. We had four planes for each insurgent plane. Today, according to figures supplied by the Air Ministry, the proportion is probably twenty insurgent planes for each Government machine. More insurgent planes have been brought down than Government machines and had they not received foreign aircraft in such quantity, the enemy air force would not exist now."

Premier Largo Caballero's right-hand man put the situation in a nutshell. It may be exaggerating to attribute such a growth in seven weeks to the rebel air force but all accounts agree that planes from Berlin and Rome have enabled Franco's forces to smash their way to the very gates of Madrid. The plane is the fundamental military factor in Spain's civil war—a potent weapon against a people's militia, poorly supplied with anti-aircraft guns and untrained in the technique of defense against aviation. When the loyalists had superior force in the air they were able to drive back the fascist troops in almost every theater of war. Without planes the rebels found it impossible to move powerfully against Government positions.

How do things stand in Spain? As I write (October 25), both sides are preparing for the crucial hour. The direct attack on Madrid seems to be merely a matter of days. General Mola's army in the Guadarrama mountains to the north is still deadlocked with the loyalist militia in that area, a position basically unchanged from

that which existed after the first week of the war. To the west and south, the troops of General Franco have been closing in steadily and seem to have established themselves along a line running through Escorial, Brunete, Navalcarnero, and Illescas. Efforts are being made to push this front further eastward to cut the lifeline of the beleaguered capital—the railroad which runs to Valencia on the Mediterranean—at Aranjuez. The rebels seem to have a maximum strength on all Madrid fronts of about 50,000 men, some 25,000 of whom are regular soldiers, Foreign Legionnaires, and Moors.

Within the capital, it is reported that 200,000 citizens have been armed to form the main defense of the city. Breastworks and trenches are being dug in case the attack should smash through all outlying defenses and make its way into the city itself. A supreme effort is under way by the Labor-Republican regime to bring order and discipline into the ranks of the militia. With the advance columns of the enemy penetrating at some points to within 20 miles, recruits are being given their first drills in the front lines of defense.

It is universally recognized that Madrid will be hard to defend. Unlike Irun and Toledo, there are no natural defenses of any importance or strong fortifications to hinder the motorized columns of the insurgents. The main thrust is expected to come across the wide, open plains lying west of the capital. The rebel strategists have further succeeded in cleaning out most of the loyal guerrilla bands around their positions and have thus established a continuous front. This allows men and guns to



*LOYALIST ENTHUSIASM: Madrid uniformed troops receive ovation from civilian soldiers as they march to the front.*

be concentrated in any one sector for maximum effect.

In the national arena, the territory occupied by both sides remains remarkably similar to that held after the first week of the war when the northern army was already sixty miles from Madrid. Then the fascists held the entire western and northern parts of the country with the exception of central Estremadura, around Badajoz, near Portugal, and the Basque cities of Irun, San Sebastian, Gija, and Bilbao on the northern coast, dominating the Bay of Biscay. To a great extent the rebel gains have been strategic rather than territorial. Irun and San Sebastian have been taken, providing an insurgent water outlet to western Europe. Isolated Badajoz was crushed beneath great aerial bombs. Toledo and the adjoining territory was invaded to open another channel into Madrid as well as for the psychological values which lay in lifting the famous siege of the Alcazar. Through Estremadura the rebels hold power only by virtue of the small garrisons they left behind.

### **Loyalists Hold On**

Loyalists still hold almost a third of the entire country. Their territory lies in the east and central sections, also including a sliver of land along the northern coast. These are the richest and the most highly industrialized areas, having a total population of some 13,000,000 out of a total national figure of 24,000,000.

Catalonian troops in the northeast have been on the offensive in the rebel-held provinces of Saragossa and Huesca ever since the first days of the revolt. The important naval base of Malaga on the Mediterranean successfully has resisted fierce attacks, while the great fleet station at Cartagena also remains under Madrid's control. This is true of the entire eastern coast, although the rebels, thanks, perhaps, to their Italian friends, hold the whiphand in the Balearic Islands with the single exception of well-fortified Minorca. On the north coast, Gijon, and Bilbao with its important munitions factories, have repulsed

all onslaughts, while the Asturian miners continue their dynamite siege of Oviedo with unabated vigor.

### **Rebel Successes**

Still there is no blinking the fact that the rebel military drive has been able in large measure to gain its ends. Should Madrid be captured, a terrible blow will be dealt to the Government forces. In civil wars greatest symbolic value is always attached to possession of the capital city, and with Germany, Italy, and Portugal waiting to recognize the rebel *junta* as the official government of Spain as soon as Madrid is taken, its defense takes on greatly added significance.

How does it happen that a movement definitely repudiated at the polls last September, could have waged war so effectively upon a legally established state? Fundamentally the success of the outbreak must be attributed to the policies of the Left Republican Government which sat helplessly over the firecracker though it heard the fuse sputtering beneath. If 65% of the Army followed 80% of the insurgent generals it was primarily because no move was made to remove disloyal militarists from their posts and no effort made to win the adherence of the soldier masses for the Government cause. Even after the rebels had taken over Spanish Morocco—which they still control completely—and simultaneous uprisings had occurred throughout Spain with varying degrees of success, the Madrid regime still tried to patch matters up and pulled its punches badly.

Nor was that all. Workers and peasants who supported the Cabinet were no soldiers. They knew nothing of military discipline or organization, and even less about tactical maneuvering. The ensuing confusion was aggravated by the traditional federalism of the Spanish people and by the fact that important centers were in rebel hands. The loyal Basques, for example, were isolated, except by water, from their comrades. The railroad between the two main Government centers of Madrid and Barcelona passed through rebel-controlled Saragossa.

The insurgents had three main military objectives. Catalonia was to be bottled up and its men and supplies cut off from the rest of Spain. The northern army of General Mola and the southern forces under Franco were to be united, making a completely unified campaign possible. The Strait of Gibraltar had to be kept open and under fascist control so that Moors and Foreign Legionnaires might be ferried over from Africa in large numbers. Upon the accomplishment of these three aims depended the fate of the insurrection.

Obviously the chief concern of the Government was exactly opposed. Loyalist troops marched on Saragossa from Barcelona. Columns were sent toward Seville, Cadiz, and Algeciras in the south where Franco had been landing his Moroccan troops, while the Navy—the bulk of which had remained faithful—patrolled the Strait of Gibraltar.

For a time the fascist plans seemed to have been spiked. After the first wave of rebellion, fascism found itself on the defensive all along the line. The advancing columns made inroads into rebel territory. The loyal air force bombed enemy positions almost at will. Burgos, Algeciras, the Guadarramas, and Seville felt the force of the loyalist air force in the first two weeks of war. The fleet, meanwhile, bombed ports in Spanish Morocco and along the Strait, while submarines lay in wait for rebel transports. Forty thousand regulars, Legionnaires, and Moors were in Africa and the rebel problem was to get them across. One of America's keenest foreign correspondents prophesied early in the war that the issue would be decided by the number of troops General Franco would be able to bring over from Africa. The Burgos *junta* realized this full well but was checkmated. Germany and Italy lifted the barrier.

### Foreign Aid

Water transport was too risky, except under unusual conditions. And from Rome and Berlin came large, fast transport planes able to carry twenty soldiers at each trip.

Thousands were thus carried over the narrow waters between Ceuta, Morocco, and Spanish coastal cities. Then der Fuehrer and il Duce supplied heavy bombers to sink the submarines and the warships on patrol. They occupied the attention of Government cruisers while troopships slipped through the net. They laid their dynamite-laden eggs on the *Jaime I*, main prop of the fleet, and forced it out of business for many weeks. They bombarded Malaga and destroyed the great oil stores which the war vessels needed for fuel. It was the same story when Franco, having gathered about 20,000 men in southern Spain, began to move north. Airplanes scattered and demolished militia groups. They buried Badajoz under a hail of bombs. This is not to deny that superior training, artillery, and motorization have played a vitally important part. Unquestionably, however, it is through the air that the fascists so far have conquered.

There has been tragic disorganization in the ranks of the Government defenders. Would Franco's troops have taken Toledo so quickly if the loyalists there had not been too busy with the Alcazar to supplement strong natural defenses with an organized trench system? The Government fleet is reported now in the north, again in the south, thus making consistent naval action at any one place impossible. It has been reported that 14,000 Moors landed in Spain within a four-day period early in October, after the ships had sailed to aid the defense of Bilbao. At a time when the Government was desperately in need of men and supplies for the Irun and San Sebastian campaign, it is alleged that a Catalonian captain, without even notifying the Central Militia Committee to which he was responsible, took several columns on troopships, fully equipped with planes and artillery, on an unsuccessful expedition into the Balearics which, while important, were a decidedly minor objective under the circumstances.

The rebels had a single aim to which they adhered rigidly—on to Madrid. The Government defenders, in spite of their de-



termination, have too often worked at cross purposes and frittered away energy and opportunity.

### ***Dangers Confronting Rebels***

Where to from here? Several Ministers have accompanied President Azana to Barcelona in order to set up a government from which the fight can be continued if Madrid falls. But the capital is not yet lost and it is certain that Premier Caballero is determined to defend the city until the last.

All is not rosy for the insurgent leaders. Their lines, especially through the south from Seville to Toledo, are spread out so long and so thinly that the small garrisons which they have left to control the bitterly hostile population may not suffice. Partisan peasant bands, similar to those which finally brought the generals of the Russian White armies to their knees, are reported forming through the southland. Peasant strikes have broken out. Through the greater part of Estremadura, Franco's men fought their way in a veritable storm of bullets from sniping loyalists. The mass slaughter of republican leaders in this territory in which great feudal landlords and absentee owners control the land, crushed opposition temporarily. There is every likelihood however, that Franco will soon find himself embarrassed by a serious peasant movement in his backyard. In the north, Saragossa is equally antagonistic to its military lords. The Basques, that conservative Catholic element of which the majority supports Madrid, have remained firm in their anti-fascist sentiments. Senor Trujo, their representative in the Popular Front Government, recently pledged support to the Government's struggle in the following words:

"The necessity for a new social and economic order in Spain, is for us Basques a religious postulate emanating from the principles of universal fraternity, social justice and human equality, incarnated by Catholicism, which religion we proudly proclaim."

The rebels, however, are not without a measure of popular support. In the north-

ern regions of Old Castille, Galicia, Leon, part of Aragon and particularly in Navarre, the rebellion found ready response among the people. The 200,000 Carlist "Roquettes" of Navarre, militant religious fanatics, have furnished thousands of men to the fascist militia and probably will be able to send many more to the fighting line. As before indicated, the Madrid Government has lost all control of the Strait of Gibraltar, facilitating the entry of more Moorish thousands. Poor crops among the Moroccan peasants played into Franco's hands and thus far, in spite of many reports, Madrid has been unable to organize a native rebellion against the insurgents.

It was expected that Government control of important munitions manufacturing establishments would weigh heavily against the rebels. They now hold, however, a number of centers at which guns and powder can be turned out, notably at Oviedo, where the largest rifle factory in Spain manufactures 500 small arms a day, at Saragossa, where major war plants are located, and at Toledo. What they could not manufacture, apparently was furnished to them. Consistently it has been the loyal Army, Navy, and air force which has run out of supplies and has been forced either to use substitutes or to give up the fight altogether.

Franco is already busy on his plans for the invasion of Catalonia, to be undertaken immediately after the fall of Madrid. Will the Catalonians stand against the foe with greater success than the defenders of Irun and Madrid? Certainly they will be better prepared and organized. A new Cabinet established late in September immediately drafted all men between the ages of 18 and 40. Intensive training is on. Barcelona's industries have been building scores of powerful tanks. Further, Barcelona has become the headquarters of hundreds of foreign military specialists who are busily teaching the 250,000 men in the militia the art of scientific warfare. So far the troops from this province have pushed back the rebels at Huesca and Saragossa steadily. Certainly, until Barcelona falls, Franco and Mola may not consider their victory won.

# HOW MANY SLAIN?

## *A summary of reported anti-clerical atrocities in Spain*

By MICHAEL WILLIAMS

---

**EDITORIAL NOTE**—Anti-clerical atrocities have played an important part in the news from Spain ever since the present civil war began. While more than matched by the slaying of other non-combatants and civilians, they reveal an aspect of the struggle which is gravely significant. Outside of proceeding with the confiscation of revenue-producing church property, the Spanish Government has adopted no program and made no pronouncement by which it can be held responsible for the widespread slaughter of priests, nuns, seminarians, and other religious devotees. Whether the Spanish Government has done what it could to prevent such crimes, or punish their perpetrators is, of course, another and more debatable question. Rebel authorities have taken no distinctly pro-Church stand. On the contrary, they have declared that the Church must be subordinate to state authority.

Since most of the anti-clerical atrocities have apparently been committed by mobs, or irresponsible persons, it follows that no official record is available. We are forced to depend on news-gathering agencies, travelers, refugees, and institutions or organizations directly concerned for reliable information. Such information, however, is a part of current history, and those trying to follow the major trends of thought, or emotionalism, are entitled to it. For this reason, we requested Michael Williams, editor of the *Commonweal*, a distinguished Catholic publication, to summarize such reports as Catholic authorities consider authentic.

---

**T**HE impossibility of assembling at the present time a finally authentic compilation of the slaying of bishops, priests, nuns, and seminarians—men and women studying for the priesthood or for entrance into some religious order—in Spain will be recognized by those who are even lightly informed about conditions prevailing in that unhappy country. Estimates vary widely, with a lack of official figures, but for the purposes of this article, we shall accept the comparatively conservative totals of the Associated Press, as given in an October dispatch.

This dispatch stated that a Vatican City unofficial but authoritative recapitulation showed that more than 500 priests and nuns had been killed during the Spanish civil war. About 400 were priests; the remainder, nuns. At least 500 were missing. The Bishops of the dioceses of Barbastro, Sigüenza, Segovia, Jaca, and Lerida were killed. During the same period, the report stated that about 29 churches and chapels

had been completely destroyed, while between 300 and 400 had been either sacked or converted into barracks and hospitals. The latter figures do not take into account the wholesale destruction which was taking place for months before the rebellion actually began.

It should be noted that the information contained in this article deals only with those ecclesiastics who were innocent of any participation in the current strife. It has been alleged that a certain number of the clergy have been killed while engaged in warfare, but no verification of this charge has yet been produced.

It should also be noted that the original source of the reports used here, where not otherwise explicitly stated, is the News Service of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, which maintains a world-wide correspondent service, and headquarters of which are in Washington. Again, a number of foreign papers have been quoted through material supplied by this news service. Mass

executions of hostages—among whom must have been many ecclesiastics,—as reported by the secular, as well as the religious, press, have been largely excluded because of their lack of detailed information.

That the Church was being actively persecuted was evident prior to the assassination of Calvo Sotelo, whose death provided the rebellion's spark. The Catholic deputies from Valencia, for instance, presented a document to the Cortes declaring that in this one province alone during the three months preceding, 40 churches and 14 rectories had been destroyed. In addition, 28 churches had been closed arbitrarily by local officials and 41 towns, with more than 100,000 souls, were without any spiritual guidance.

Reliable sources in early August reported that only two churches had been left unburned in Barcelona, known to be one of the most anti-clerical cities. Churches, convents, monasteries, religious schools, and private chapels went up in flames, and the Cathedral and the Church of the Capuchins near the Paseo de Gracia were spared only for Government purposes.

Very explicit dispatches on the murder of ecclesiastics can be cited. On August 8, the Paris *Figaro* published from its correspondent at the Franco-Spanish frontier a brief report of the finding of the body of the Most Rev. Eustachio Nieto y Martin, Bishop of Sigüenza. Corroboration was had from refugees arriving at Port-Vendres, France, two weeks later. These further testified to the execution of the Most Rev. Manuel Basulto y Jimenez, Bishop of Jaen, his aged mother and sister, together with several hundred prisoners at Villaverde. The correspondent of *Echo de Paris* also described the killing of Bishop Martin and the scene which preceded, at which time daughters of aristocrats and insurgents were butchered on the altar of the Church of Santa Maria at Baeza in Andalusia.

According to the Paris weekly, *Guingoire*, on August 25 the number of priests executed at Barcelona was estimated at 400, the majority of whom were decapitated. In the Province of Avila a rural pastor, the Rev.

Basilo Sanchez, was seized and burned alive. At Villafranca del Panades, all priests were executed, and although the pastor at Figueras was first spared, he was executed several days later (on August 20). The *Echo de Paris* correspondent also described the crucifixion of priests at Badajoz, while the same dispatches contained information of the killing of the Most Rev. Salvio Huix Miralpeix, Bishop of Lerida. Mr. Harry Harris of Barcelona, an American industrialist, informed a reporter for the Paris *Herald Tribune* that he had witnessed the execution of 150 seminarians.

Information was issued from the Motherhouse of the Salesian Order in Turin, whose mission is the education of youth, to verify the killing of six Salesians. The known dead on August 24 were Don Antonio Torrero, director of the school at Ronda in Andalusia; the venerable priest, Don Enrique Canut; Don Jose Limo, director of the school at Moron, Andalusia; the Rev. Don Antonio Fernandez and the coadjutor, Jose Blanco; and Don Sergio Cid of the Casa de Sarria of Barcelona. Wholesale arrests of Salesians, whose executions are now being reliably reported, followed and very few of their 53 institutions for boys and 21 for girls escaped sacking. Schools at Alcoy, Alicante, Gerona, Mataro, Villena, and Valencia (there the Rev. Don Jose Calasanz and 36 Salesians were arrested, their fate remaining unknown) were confiscated and the chapels burned.

An eye-witness to the burning of the Cathedral and ten other famous churches in Valencia, Rev. Baldomero Marcilla, head of the Spanish department at Seton Hill College in South Orange, N. J., also described the shooting of any who were known to be, or suspected of being, Catholics in that city.

"More than 200 civilians were killed during my ten days there," he said. "In the diocese 30 priests were shot down in cold blood. Most of the others were herded in the city jail, while a few are hiding in disguise, as I myself did while living there."

This statement was made on August 24, after Father Marcilla had escaped and re-

turned to America. He continued: "No effort was made by the police or any of the authorities to restrain the crazed mob or to protect the property. Civil guards were standing about in the crowd that watched the edifices go up in flame."

In Vatican City, Friar Adolfo Munne, a Religious of St. John of God, whose Argentine citizenship saved him, told how he saw 18 of his brother religious slaughtered before his eyes. The religious conducted an asylum for poor children at Calaselles near Barcelona. The known dead are: Father Prior Julian Sarrasquer, the Definitor Provincial and Master of Novices, Father Braulio; Brothers Benedict, Eusebius, and Vincent de Paul; Novices Manuel Gimenez, Anthony Sanchez, Anthony Llauro, Emanuel Lopez, Thomas Urdanoz, Ignatius, Toribius, Henry, Dominic, Marian, Eusebius, Nicholas, "and another whose name I do not remember." The group was suddenly butchered on the Calaselles-Barcelona road July 30 by captors who had promised them safe convoy to a port. This story was further corroborated in a dispatch to the Paris *La Croix* on August 10 after an interview with refugees who had reached Marseilles. Capuchins from Catalonia, who had reached Narbonne, reported that, although the majority of their members had escaped, many had been killed. The *Osservatore Romano*, the Catholic paper of Rome, also reported that the Capuchin order had suffered badly. The Madrid convent was taken over by mobs, six priests were shot, and the fate of 11 others remained unknown. The scholasticate of the same order in Madrid was pillaged; and although the monks escaped, they have not been heard from since. The same situation occurred at the scholasticate in Bilbao, and the convent in Sarria-Barcelona was completely burned. The Igualada scholasticate, the Manresa novitiate, the Olot house of studies, the convents of Pompei, Barcelona, Tarragona, and Arenya de Mar were converted to communistic uses. About 20 of the religious attached to these places have been killed, 14 have escaped, some are in prison, but of the majority there has been no news. Among

those killed was Rev. Joseph Oriol.

In an interview with the *London Universe* correspondent, F. G. Stirrup, an Englishman who has lived for more than twenty years in Spain, told of his escape after he and three companions had been imprisoned by mobs in Burgos. He described the scene in a public square at Badajoz where he saw two mutilated priests crucified, while nearby another was cut to death with knives. At first, he said, the mobs imprisoned priests and nuns, and sometimes shot them.

"Now [he was testifying on August 25] they take none of them as prisoners; they shoot them at sight or hack them to pieces."

Mr. Richard T. J. Hegarty of the Barcelona British Consulate, arriving in England from Barcelona, described a scene when some monks were captured as they emerged from a building in that city: "As they walked out, Red militiamen with huge road hammers smashed their heads, and when they fell, they were trampled upon and beaten to death with hammers." Mr. Hegarty said one woman of the mob shot six nuns, killing five of them.

An August 10, dispatches reported that more than a hundred Augustinian priests had been captured at the Monastery of El Escorial and their final fate remained unknown. A later dispatch received at Vatican City on September 8 reported that these friars—114 in number—were shot without trial, notwithstanding a promise of safety given them by President Manuel Azana, once their pupil.

The Brothers of the Christian Schools in Rome received word on August 28 that 22 of their brethren in Spain had been slain, its colleges at Barcelona and Figueras confiscated, and its thousand pupils dispersed, while other religious' fates were unknown.

Writing from Paris, M. Massiani, special N.C.W.C. correspondent, repeated the testimony of witnesses that a dozen or more bodies were found daily on the road to Rabassada going out of Barcelona. At dawn on the morning of July 27 a car containing three men and six women was seen going in that direction. Later the bodies of four Dominican nuns were found by the road-



side. The fifth was too seriously wounded to be moved. The sixth, conscious, was taken to a hospital where she said that she and her companions had been promised escort to safety.

The Rev. Florindo Rubini, Prefect General of the Camillians, who was at Barcelona on a visitation to his congregation in Spain when the uprising began, was saved only by the intervention of the Italian consul. He told of the massacre of 13 Carmelite priests, 5 other priests, and 6 laymen at the Carmelite monastery there. He gave absolution privately to 400 dead, most of them ecclesiastics. An American Carmelite reported to M. Massiani that at San Felipe where he was stationed 20 priests were executed and their bodies burned in the square, but he did not know whether or not these were Carmelites. A woman from Majorca reported that she witnessed from her ship, the *Ciudad de Barcelona*, the shooting of nine priests who were about to board another vessel in that port.

On September 8 in Rome, a refugee from Barcelona, Rev. Barot Deufoleu, died from a blow he had received in escaping from a loyalist mob. He had been hiding with an indeterminate number of coreligionists in a parish house garden when they were discovered and he was left for dead between two corpses. This dispatch from Vatican City also narrates that seven Augustinian Recollect monks were slain when the Monastery of Motril was burned; five Trinitarian religious are known to have been martyred in Madrid, and another at the Alcazar of San Juan.

On September 6 Paris reported receipt of a telegram from Corunna affirming the shooting of the Most Rev. Croce Laplana y Laguna, Bishop of Cuenca, and many seminarians.

The Community of the Discalced Carmelite Fathers in Milwaukee received advice on September 12 of the assassination by loyalists of Father Luke, former Definitor General of the Order and, at the time of his death, Superior of the Carmelite monastery in Barcelona. This word came from a Dominican, Rev. Domingo Van Hont,

O. P., a Hollander who escaped. He disclosed also that in Tiguelmo, mobs besieged a convent. When the nuns tried to escape over a wall, a number of them were captured by uniformed women guards, heavily armed. Stripped of their clothing the nuns were later killed by the women with awls and long needles. Father Van Hont knew two of the nuns; the next day he saw their bodies.

Mgr. Enrico Pucci in a dispatch from Vatican City on September 12 stated that the Congregation of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart had received word that two of its religious had been shot at Barcelona and a group of religious at a college in Canet de Mar had been arrested; their ultimate fate remained unknown. On August 22, the Toledo correspondent of the Havas News Agency, stated that 64 priests and religious of Toledo Cathedral were shot together at 8 p.m. Only one priest escaped death.

*La Croix du Midi* of Toulouse printed a refugee's story of witnessing the execution of a priest at Los Abellenes. A dispatch from Vatican City stated that among five Dominicans who were executed at the Convent of San Gervasio, Barcelona, on August 31, two were professors from the Angelical College of Rome. Of the 800 other Dominicans established in Spain, no authentic reports could then be obtained.

In Washington the Rev. Eugene Sugranes, C.M.F., Superior of the Claretian College, received word of the massacre of 45 Claretian missionaries in the order's college at Barbastro. The victims included priests, clerical students, and lay brothers. Seized, chained, and thrown into prison, they were kept waiting their day of execution. On August 2, five, including the Superior, Rev. Philip Munarriz, and the Prefect of Studies, Rev. John Diaz, were executed. On August 15, 20 more met a similar fate, and finally, on August 16, the last 20 faced the firing squad.

Also to the death list must be added the names of Rev. Frederick Codina, Superior of the community at Lerida; Rev. Gumerindo Valtierra, Superior at Barcelona; and

Frater Adolph de Esteban of Barcelona. At the same time, word came of the destruction of all convents and colleges of the order in Catalonia. Rev. James Payas was murdered in Sallent, where he taught at the Claretian College, and well-grounded fears exist for the safety of all other members of the order in Spain.

Some of these fears have been confirmed. *Osservatore Romano* in late September published a report of the scattering of a Claretian community of 100 members at Cervera. Fourteen of them, led by Rev. Emmanuel Jove, reached Vallbona, but were seized by a Red mob and immediately shot. Thirty others, professors of theology, were captured and imprisoned; later 14 were provided with passports signed by leaders of the seven different political parties in power there and allowed to entrain, but at Fernan-Caballero, their guards led them outside the station and shot them. Reports from the others have not been received since. Among the victims were Father Hyacinth Blanc, Father Lorenzo, editor of *Iris de Paz*; the Madrid Superior, Father Marin; Father Rosenda Ramonet, age 70, arrested while taking the Viaticum to nuns hidden in a cellar; and Father Puigdessela, Tarragona University professor, at Vich.

Two French Marists, forced to flee from Spain, told on their arrival at Lyons,

France, of the shooting on August 5 of the Rev. Anastasia Garcia, S.M., who had abandoned his shelter with a Catholic family in order to avoid incriminating and bringing down on it the drastic reprisals—frequently death—allegedly meted out by Reds to all who shelter priests. From Paris on October 5 came the report of the execution at Madrid of Father Poveda, founder of the Teresian Institute, who had been engaged in the field of feminine education for twenty-five years.

The colleges and houses of the Society of Jesus were suppressed and their members dispersed before the present outbreak. Many of the older priests and brothers, however, remained in Spain and it has been difficult to obtain accurate and comprehensive information in regard to those in loyalist territory.

Within the past month, however, very few new reports of specific atrocities have come from Spain. One might argue from this that loyalist mobs are becoming more restrained, but the shutting off of news from their sectors actually has a more ominous significance. In view of the ghastly barbarities already known to have been practiced, it is hard to believe that any religious in loyalist Spain, who had not escaped within the first several weeks of the uprising, or who has not been securely hidden, has been left alive.

# REFORMING THE LEAGUE

## *A review of proposals to rejuvenate the old young man of Geneva*

By CURT L. HEYMANN

THE year 1936 has been the most crucial in the history of the League of Nations. At the seventeenth regular annual session of the Assembly a complete breakdown seemed nearer than ever. Nevertheless, European members, facing the alternative of a better League or no League, seem at least to realize that they cannot drop out without adding to the dangers they already face. The trend is therefore toward a better League, and the issue is: Can the structure of the League of Nations be reformed?

The Assembly's Commission for League of Nations Reform answered the question optimistically when it decided, on October 9, to establish a commission of 28 members to study ways and means of reforming the covenant and to submit a report as soon as possible. The decision indicates that the committee is in for an earnest debate on every point, including such questions as harmonizing the Covenant with the Kellogg-Briand, Saavedra Lamas, and other pacts, as well as the question of arms embargoes under the covenant against both belligerents. The committee includes the fifteen members of the Council and Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Iran, Mexico, The Netherlands, Portugal, Switzerland, and Uruguay.

### **Two Schemes—Two Camps**

Generally speaking, the question of League reform is the outcome of two conflicting tendencies, nationalism and internationalism. The Anglo-French bloc is opposed by Nazi-Fascist policies, and the manifold proposals for revision of the Covenant are flirting with either group or trying to find a middle course.

Consequently, League members are divided into two groups, those favoring a stronger, smaller, and tighter organization, and those who would have the League reformed into a more universal body. The former group holds that a small League can deal firmly with the problem of security in a limited and restricted area, while the latter sees the activities of a universal League confined to humanitarian work and the provision of a consultative center for statesmen. All actual prevention of aggression would be abandoned by this second group in favor of regional pacts framed under League auspices but without League responsibility. The first of these solutions appeals to the French for obvious reasons, and it can well be assumed that Russia would stand with France; the second is favored by a larger group, including the South American and Asiatic contingents. It would entail dropping Article XVI of the Covenant or its modification out of all resemblance to its present provisions for sanctions against an aggressor state. In China, in South America, as in the case of Ethiopia, Article XVI has been clearly proven ineffectual for protection, and there seems to be full recognition of this fact in League circles.

### **What of the Covenant?**

Shall the Covenant of the League be changed by amendment or by new interpretation? No change in the Covenant! is the drastic demand of Salvador de Madariaga who, as chairman of the League's Committee of Thirteen, sought to prevent the war in Ethiopia. Since the essence of the Covenant is world cooperation by all na-



*SUNSET: A League debate on the Italo-Ethiopian dispute. After that, the League slipped rapidly. Still, "there is faint hope . . ."*  
*Times Wide World*



tions, the trend is toward trying to change the League through interpreting anew certain articles of the Covenant and implementing others, rather than through amendments which legal experts feel are too difficult to achieve. The articles involved are X, XI, XVI, XIX, and XXI. In accordance with such a suggestion, the question appeared on the agenda of the September Council meeting, not as one of reform or revision of the Covenant, but as one of improving the "application of the principles of the Covenant"—a phrase taken from the Assembly's resolution of July 4.

Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin, Anthony Eden, and Sir Samuel Hoare have proclaimed for the last few years that British foreign policy is founded solely on the League of Nations. Last May, Mr. Eden told the House of Commons that the League of Nations "must go on" despite its failure in Africa, and a few weeks later Mr. Baldwin told Conservative women Britain wanted to reform the League so that it should embrace all the world, including the United States, Germany, and Japan. At that time he still championed the sanctions principle. Just because Article XVI had failed to restrain Italy, he said, it does not follow that the Covenant must be scrapped. Mr. Eden, pressed to give his Government's views on League reform, promised that Britain would avoid the two extremes of eliminating the Covenant's coercive power or applying that power automatically and universally. He pledged that Britain would maintain what he deemed the League's four main elements—"machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes, machinery for the adjustment of grievances (i.e., for treaty revision), the creation of a deterrent to war, and the establishment for the reduction and limitation of armaments."

### **Mr. Eden's Ideas**

No definite program for handling the problem had been prepared when Parliament adjourned in August, but Mr. Eden had sent a tentative outline of his ideas to Geneva as all member nations had been

asked to do by September 1. There were plain intimations that the British would consider favorably the proposal to reinterpret Article XI in such way as to free it from its nullifying requirement of unanimity. This is the article which declares that war or the threat of war is the concern of the whole League and that the Council shall take action to safeguard peace. Mr. Eden practically admitted that it was impossible to do anything with Article XIX, which theoretically provides for revision of war-time treaties and the boundaries fixed thereby, but which in reality is a dead letter because none of the beneficiaries of those treaties will consent to revision. As to the vital Articles X and XVI, which Mr. Eden calls the "security articles", he has declined to commit the Government or himself. Mr. Neville Chamberlain was more suggestive with regard to Article XVI. In place of the all-round sanctions scheme he would have regional arrangements approved by the League. In general, there was reason to believe that the British Government did not propose any drastic amendment of the Covenant and that its course for reform would be a middle ground between the extremists of the two schools of thought.

The more surprised was Geneva when, on September 25, Britain's Foreign Secretary proposed drastic reform plans, calculated to please Nazi Germany and regain her adherence to the League. These proposals, advocated by Mr. Eden to check what he called "drift of humanity to war", were criticized for their vagueness and ambiguity and branded by the press as Mr. Eden's "half-baked ideas." They were:

1. Giving effect to Article XIX (the Covenant's revision clause) by allowing the League's Assembly to "embark on matters arising under that article" in order to eliminate, in Eden's words, "the principal failing of the League: namely, that it has come to be regarded, rightly or wrongly, as an attempt to stereotype a state of things that could hardly be expected to endure for all time."

2. Separation of the Covenant from the Versailles peace treaty so that the League

instrument "would take the form of a self-contained convention."

3. Regional pacts to be submitted to the Council or the Assembly to see whether they are consistent with the Covenant, such approval to be "dependent on compliance with certain conditions to be defined."

### ***Nations Propose . . .***

As to the bulk of reform proposals there are almost as many as there are League members, and the committee appointed for this purpose will have a hard time studying and debating them when it meets at Geneva on December 7. Although every nation appears to agree on the necessity of reforming the League, it is apparent that no definite understanding is near on how this reform shall be brought about. The proposals so far made may be roughly divided according to the countries where they seem strongest. For Britain the League's main weakness is the lack of members, and she would strengthen it by making the membership universal. British statesmen are constantly repeating that the League cannot be 100 percent effective without 100 percent membership. But this is by no means certain. With Chancellor Adolf Hitler for instance in the Council, who could be certain that Germany would not vote against sanctions?

For France the League's weakness lies in its machinery. She would increase the obligations of members to act swiftly, even at the cost of practically decreasing their number, beginning with Germany. The French plan would reduce the League's field of activity practically to Europe, but would give it more power. Obviously, if the states of Europe could be united as the United States of America, they would be far more effective than a universal league. But France does not propose to unite them on the American basis. Her aim is to preserve nations as units and—last but not least—preserve the hegemony of France. Yet, Paris moves carefully and tries to avoid radical methods. M. Delbos has delayed elaboration of the ideas which he expressed before the July Assembly until other nations come forward with their own propo-

sals, a tactic obviously aimed at the British.

Under the Soviet plan (the most detailed reform plan has been submitted by Moscow) the Council of the League, by a three-fourths majority of the members present, the disputants excluded, could make a decision on aggression within six days after outbreak of a war. Military measures would be taken against the aggressor by parties to mutual assistance agreements operative in the particular case and by other states which conform to the Council's decision; economic and financial sanctions would be enacted immediately. Denmark proposed that the Assembly should open negotiations with all non-League members "with a view to bringing them into it." She also seeks the adoption of measures that may make it easier for non-members to join. Sweden and Lithuania also stress the need for efforts toward League universality. President Giuseppe Motta of Switzerland says in his note on reform that universal membership is more important than coercive principles. He wants to retain Article XVI in its present form and is in favor of speeding war prevention under Articles XI, XII, and XV. Greece's suggestion was submitted by Nicolas Politis, recognized as one of the greatest European juridical authorities.

Latvia and Norway accept the French proposal to speed League action by dropping the unanimity rule in Article XI. Norway, however, refuses to increase her own obligations to enforce the Covenant and leans toward dropping Article XVI, while Latvia would strengthen this article. New Zealand proposes that all League members and "as many non-members of the League as may be persuaded to adopt this course, hold immediately national plebiscites" to determine first whether their people will "join automatically and immediately" in Article XVI's sanctions against an aggressor whom the Council finds guilty, and, secondly, if yes, whether all or part of their armed forces should be "immediately and automatically placed at the disposal of the League to enforce the covenant against this aggressor." New Zealand

opposes regional pacts as undesirable, unless backed by national plebiscites, and would make the economic boycott of an aggressor complete and automatic.

Of the South American republics, Argentina proposed that the League be made universal by weakening its membership obligations. Her views run counter to Russia's in every essential, except that both agree that the method of change should not be amendment of the Covenant but interpretative Assembly resolutions. Argentina would maintain the equality of all states in the League and "democratize" the Council. Chile advocates regional leagues. Colombia proposes decentralization of the League through the establishment of regional or continental agreements, such as the proposed European Union and some "association of American nations." Uruguay favors the maintenance of the unanimity rule which France would drop, insofar as the parties to the dispute are themselves concerned, and is also hostile toward resurrection of the Geneva protocol which France favors. Uruguay leans toward regional arrangements, apparently on continental lines, whereby powers in a neighboring dispute would decide for the others how far the Covenant should be applied. The trend of her note is to confine Geneva to preventive and conciliatory action.

### *Individuals Suggest . . .*

"Regional leagues established on the basis of equality" is also a proposal of Renzo Sawada, Japanese Consul General in New York, which he presented to the Association of Foreign Press Correspondents in New York. Herbert Morrison, the rising

British Labor Party leader, went so far as to advocate before the Geneva Institute the forming of an inner ring of European democratic and socialist states with a consulting parliament. All the radical changes in the League which he proposed would be accomplished through regional agreements without amending the Covenant. The British delegation to the World Youth Congress proposed last September that all League of Nations members "place their forces at the League's disposal" to maintain peace. The League of Nations Association of the United States published in May a formal statement, in which it was declared that a universal league could operate effectively on the basis of the Kellogg pact, arranging for peaceful modification of the status quo and separating the Covenant of the League from the Treaty of Versailles. Members of the European committee of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace agreed last summer that there should be no changes in the Covenant. They held that the difficulty was not the League or its constitution but the ineffective use of the League by the chief powers concerned.

What then, in the end, has prevented the League of Nations from achieving more completely its noble aim? Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler answered the question simply, directly, and clearly: human incompetence! It will be hard to correct the errors of Geneva while history takes a fateful course. The optimism of the Stresemann-Briand-Chamberlain period belongs to the past, and it is doubtful whether that spirit will ever revive. But there is a faint hope that, for the sake of humanity, the unshaken belief of a minority may carry on an ideal.



## Nazis and American Arms

READERS of Robert Dell's *Germany Unmasked* may remember the documented account he gave of Nazi propaganda in South America. A very interesting proof that this continues unabated came to me the other day direct from a very high authority in Washington. Why, a friend of mine asked, is Roosevelt building such a colossal navy? Is an early war contemplated with Japan? The reply was surprising. No, war was not expected with Japan and the chief reason was the necessity of looking after the defenses of the whole American Continent. Isolation from Europe carries with it the implication of a strict interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, and I gather that the United States authorities are considerably disturbed by the long-distance effects of German propaganda in Brazil, still a largely unexplored and uncolonized country which is bigger in area than the United States. I gather that Hitler has in effect been given to understand that France and Great Britain will never agree to a German colony in Africa (unless it was a Portuguese colony perhaps?) while they would not be concerned with Hitler's colonizing ambitions in South America. Meanwhile the United States has washed its hands of Africa, but would defend South America at all costs against any German expansion there!

—"Critic" in *New Statesman and Nation*,  
London, September 19, 1936.



# PEACE and the Americas

## THE AIMS AND PROBLEMS OF THE PAN AMERICAN CONFERENCE

*By Ronald Stuart Kain*

IT IS now nearly half a century since the first Pan American Conference at Washington approved the arbitration of disputes between nations as a principle of American international law. The intervening decades have witnessed a slow but steady and organic growth of the movement for the restriction of war among the peoples of this hemisphere. Another milestone in this New World march toward peace undoubtedly will be erected at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, proposed by President Roosevelt on January 30, this year, and called by the Argentine Government to meet in Buenos Aires on December 1.

The program, as approved by the Governing Board of the Pan American Union on July 22, shows a realistic appraisal of the complexity of the peace problem. Preferential consideration is to be given proposals for the strengthening of peace machinery, but in addition the conference will attempt to remove some of the fundamental causes of war. All six general subjects proposed for consideration at Buenos Aires contribute to this double objective. They may be summarized as follows:

1. Organization of peace, including the improvement and coordination of existing anti-war pacts; adoption of additional peace machinery and especially of an Inter-American Court of Justice; closer association of the American republics and measures of cooperation between them and other international agencies, such as the League of Nations, World Court, and International Labor Organization.

2. Neutrality, including rules governing

the rights and duties of neutrals and belligerents.

3. Limitation of armaments.

4. Juridical problems, including proposals for the elimination of force and of diplomatic intervention in cases of pecuniary and other private actions.

5. Economic problems, including tariff truces and customs agreements, sanitary regulations affecting the interchange of animal and vegetable products, equality of trade opportunity, financial cooperation, the international aspects of immigration, communications, etc.

6. Intellectual cooperation, including measures to promote closer cultural relations and to develop a spirit of moral disarmament.

### *Dividing Forces*

The key to an understanding of this program must be sought first of all in the desperate three-year struggle between Bolivia and Paraguay over the Chaco Boreal, which ended indecisively on June 14, 1935. The graves of nearly 100,000 soldiers in the Chaco and the economic prostration of both countries bear tragic witness to the failure of both Pan-American and League-of-Nations peace machinery to prevent the conflict.

There have been other recent and alarming evidences of the fragility of the peace structure in this hemisphere. A war between Colombia and Peru over the Leticia corridor on the upper Amazon was averted in 1933 only because an assassin's bullet cut short the career of President Luis M.

Sánchez Cerro, bellicose dictator of Peru. The boundary dispute between Ecuador and Peru led to repeated border clashes and hostile demonstrations before it was submitted to President Roosevelt for arbitration early in July 1936. The Beagle Channel dispute between Argentina and Chile and the boundary controversy between Panama and Costa Rica cause periodical friction. So also do the recurrent tariff controversies and the competitive armament programs of the most powerful South American states. Then, too, there is growing uneasiness in Pan American circles over the tendency of Bolivia, Chile, and Peru, on the one hand, and of Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay, on the other, to coalesce into opposing economic and political blocs.

The progressive collapse since 1931 of the peace edifices erected in Europe and the Far East immediately after the World War and the ominous drift of Europe toward a new cataclysm are other factors which have contributed profoundly to the scope and content of the conference program.

Prompted by the deepening war clouds in Europe and by the experiences of neutrals in recent conflicts, the State Department at Washington is drafting a Pan American neutrality convention for consideration at Buenos Aires. Press reports indicate that in its tentative form the pact would bind signatories to settle their disputes by peaceful methods. If these methods failed, they could not commence hostilities without a previous formal declaration of war or an ultimatum with a conditional declaration. In case hostilities began in violation of this pledge, neutrals might legally declare that a state of war existed, prohibit loans and credits to the belligerents, and embargo shipments of arms, munitions, and war supplies. They might also restrict other commercial transactions, if this were considered desirable in the interests of peace, unless such measures contravened existing trade agreements. The treaty would not apply in case of war between an American and a non-American power or in cases where it conflicted with commitments of American states under the League Covenant.

These proposals are designed to end the anomalous position in which neutrals recently have been placed by belligerents waging undeclared war. Apparently, they would permit a greater degree of cooperation between non-League American states and the League of Nations in curbing an aggressor than proved possible during the Italo-Ethiopian conflict.

### *A New Monroe Doctrine*

There are indications that the proposed common neutrality policy may be reinforced by an agreement for continental solidarity against aggression from overseas upon any one of the American republics. Transformation of the Monroe Doctrine from the unilateral fiat of the United States into a multilateral expression of continental policy would have a number of advantages from the viewpoint of this country as well as from that of the other republics. It would terminate a situation which long has wounded the pride of our southern neighbors and hindered the development of closer economic ties with them. At the same time it would serve our national interest by strengthening the barriers which prevent the great armed powers from gaining a further foothold in this hemisphere.

What changes in existing inter-American treaties for the maintenance of peace are contemplated at Buenos Aires? For an answer to this question, we must turn once more to the discouraging experience of the neutral American governments in their efforts to prevent and then to end the Chaco War.

A week after the Bolivian-Paraguayan peace treaty was signed on Jan. 21, 1936, President Roosevelt launched his proposal for "an extraordinary inter-American conference . . . to determine how the maintenance of peace among the American republics may best be safeguarded. . . ."

"If the tragedy of the Chaco can be considered as having served any useful end," his note to the chief executives of the other republics declared, "I believe such end will lie in our joint willingness to profit

from the experience learned and to exert our common endeavors in guarding against the repetition of such American disasters."

### Chaco Peace

The President's appeal was enthusiastically applauded by all governments concerned, although the question of further improvements in peace machinery had already been referred to the Eighth Pan American Conference, scheduled to meet in Lima, Peru, in 1937 or 1938. There were various reasons for this response. The signing of the Chaco peace treaty and the widely beneficial results of Mr. Roosevelt's "good neighbor" policy, on the one hand, and menacing developments in Europe and along the Ecuadorean-Peruvian frontier, on the other, made the time propitious for such a conference. Moreover, foresighted Latin American statesmen wished to incorporate Secretary Hull's non-intervention pledge of Dec. 19, 1933, in a formal convention while the "good neighbor" spirit still reigned at Washington. But even had these circumstances been lacking, the call for an inter-American conference would have been justified by the precarious nature of the peace which reigns temporarily in the Chaco Boreal. So far, the Chaco peace conference at Buenos Aires has failed in its effort to settle the fundamental territorial or boundary dispute. Nor has it been able to secure an agreement as to terms under which the dispute can be submitted to arbitration.

Failure to settle the basic question by direct agreement or arbitration must lead inevitably to a renewal of the armed struggle. For Bolivia cannot accept the existing *status quo*—with Paraguay in possession of practically the entire region in dispute—any longer than is necessary to recover from the ravages of the recent war.

Thus the impasse which has developed in the Chaco negotiations at Buenos Aires has an ominous significance that places the mediating governments in an extremely delicate position. The Foreign Ministers of Argentina and Brazil have pledged their word of honor to Bolivia that the Chaco confer-

ence will not adjourn until a direct settlement has been reached or a definitive arbitration agreement concluded. Moreover, the joint declaration made by all neutral American nations on Aug. 3, 1932, pledged them not to recognize any territorial arrangement effected in the Chaco by force of arms.

To cut this Gordian knot, and at the same time to eliminate the sinister influence of the Chaco controversy upon inter-American relations, is thus one of the supreme tasks of Pan American statesmanship. At best the dispute is a running sore on the Pan American organism. At worst, it may embroil the powerful neighbors of the two disputants—a catastrophe which seemed possible more than once during the course of the Chaco War.

The mandate given the Inter-American Conference to consolidate the peace of the New World will enable it to bring pressure upon Bolivia and Paraguay from a new point of leverage and thus to reinforce the efforts of the Chaco mediators. There are several ways in which this influence may be exerted. First, the Inter-American Peace Conference by force of its example, or by a direct moral appeal, may induce the disputants to accept arbitration or an immediate peaceful settlement of their controversy. A similar appeal by the Montevideo Conference brought about a temporary cessation of fighting in the Chaco at the moment when final victory seemed within Paraguay's grasp.

Second, improvements in existing peace machinery can be made which, without seeming to have direct relation to the Chaco dispute, will promote a settlement of that controversy. Experience has proved that in direct negotiations neither the Bolivian nor Paraguayan government can make the concessions necessary for a definitive solution without alienating home support and endangering its stability.

Third, the conference can adopt measures for more effective neutral opposition to a renewal of warfare in the Chaco or to a similar outbreak between other American republics.

### ***Argentine Proposals***

The proposals submitted by Argentina for consideration by the conference go to the heart of the war problem, as posed by the Chaco conflict, and forecast in a general way the measures which are likely to receive the most careful thought at Buenos Aires. The Argentine project calls for a peace structure based upon (1) the obligatory arbitration of all inter-American disputes incapable of settlement through diplomatic channels; (2) the non-recognition of territorial agreements obtained by non-pacific methods or of the occupation or conquest of territory by armed force; and (3) the application of sanctions against governments which violate the Kellogg-Briand Pact or the Argentine Anti-War Treaty.

It is planned, first of all, to strengthen the General Treaty of Inter-American Arbitration signed at Washington on Jan. 5, 1929. Argentina proposes that there be included within the purview of the treaty all disputes, juridical and non-juridical, which are not capable of solution through diplomatic channels. In addition, an effort will be made to obtain withdrawal of the various reservations which lessen the efficacy of the present treaty, and to obtain its ratification by the seven American states, including Bolivia and Paraguay, which have not yet formally approved.

An attempt will be made also to secure prompt ratification of other existing peace pacts and conventions. This is in line with a resolution adopted at Montevideo in December 1933. However, the legislative bodies of many of the republics have been extremely dilatory in ratifying such treaties. It remains to be seen whether the effort to eliminate this obvious weakness in Pan American peace machinery will be any more successful at Buenos Aires than it was at Montevideo.

The non-recognition of the fruits of armed conquest is another principle firmly embodied in Pan American doctrine. It was set forth in the joint declaration of Aug. 3, 1932, issued by the nineteen neutral republics to the Chaco belligerents, and

was subsequently incorporated in the Argentine Anti-War Pact.

Argentina's third proposal—the application of sanctions against violators of the Kellogg-Briand and Argentine Anti-War Pacts—is full of political dynamite. If adopted, it will represent a somewhat revolutionary innovation in Pan American peace machinery. Yet the suggestion is a logical outgrowth of conditions which frustrated repeated neutral efforts to prevent or to end the Chaco conflict. During that struggle the mediatory agencies took preliminary steps toward sanctions under the pressure of seemingly inescapable realities and thus laid the groundwork for the present Argentine proposal.

The Chaco conflict demonstrated that some form of collective coercion of a government which violates its treaty obligations to maintain peace is probably indispensable to an effective system of mutual security in the Americas. Both the Chaco War and the Italo-Ethiopian sanctions experiment showed that the Latin American republics are not likely to cooperate effectively in the application of sanctions unless they have a direct interest in doing so. As for the United States, Secretary Hull said in his speech before the Good Neighbor League in New York City, on September 15, 1936, that the Roosevelt Administration "would not join with other governments in collective arrangements carrying the obligation of employing force, if necessary, in case disputes between other countries brought them into war." Whether this prohibition applies to measures short of armed force, such as diplomatic or economic sanctions, is not yet clear. But the difficulty of reaching a workable solution of the sanctions problem is obvious.

Closely connected with the sanctions principle is the Argentine proposal to extend the powers of the permanent commissions of investigation and conciliation established under the Gondra Treaty of 1923, the Conciliation Convention of 1929, and the Additional Protocol of 1933 to the latter convention. The object is to make them effective instruments for the prevention,



as well as for the settlement, of critical international controversies. The commissions would be authorized to intervene in a dispute without awaiting consent of the parties, to order the evacuation of invaded territory, and to organize an international police force, if necessary, to prevent such invasions or to establish demilitarized zones between rival forces. The proposal seeks to remedy one of the most obvious weaknesses of existing peace machinery—its powerlessness to prevent sporadic clashes between unfriendly frontier patrols, such as those which precipitated the Chaco conflict. But without a formal guarantee of effective support from the neutral Pan American countries in the form of either diplomatic, economic, or military sanctions, the rulings of the commissions are likely to be disregarded.

### ***Lowering Economic Barriers***

So much for the changes contemplated in Pan American peace machinery. How is this machinery to be supplemented in the economic and moral sphere? It was at the instigation of Secretary of State Hull that the Montevideo Conference formally approved the lowering of barriers to international trade and the establishment of equality of trade opportunity among the nations. Proposals for giving these principles more concrete application through a tariff truce and a pledge to create no new discriminations are to be studied at Buenos Aires, again at the suggestion of our State Department, which has also submitted proposals for the exchange of teachers and students between the American republics with government support, and for the improvement of communications.

Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico likewise have advocated economic measures which would open larger foreign markets for their products, especially in the United States, and lessen the irritation produced by tariff discriminations. These

proposals imply a willingness to take more imports in payment for increased exports and are therefore all to the good. But it is obvious that only gradual progress can be expected in this field.

### ***Attitude Toward League***

A common neutrality policy, an improved system of collective security, and closer economic cooperation are thus the main objectives of the forthcoming conference. The steps to be taken to attain each of these objectives will be influenced vitally by the decision of the conference on a broader and possibly more fundamental issue—that of the future relationship between the Pan American movement and the League of Nations.

Several courses of action have been proposed. Certain American governments, such as those of the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, and Honduras, urge the severance of all relations with Geneva and the establishment of an exclusive American league. A more influential group of states, including Argentina, Chile, Colombia, and Peru, desires a stronger regional organization in the Americas, but one that will function within the framework of the League of Nations. Others, particularly the United States and Brazil, favor limited cooperation between the Pan American organization and the world League in furtherance of peace and economic progress, provided the inter-American union preserves complete independence and equality of status.

On motion of Secretary Hull, the Seventh Pan American Conference formally resolved that if cooperation with the League of Nations were decided upon, it must be done "without complicating or involving the integrity" of the Pan American organization. It is from this basic postulate that the issue doubtless will be approached at Buenos Aires.



**AFTER A RAID:** Food reaches the Jewish quarter of Minsk Masowicz, Poland. A short while before this picture was taken, the shops and homes of the Polish Jews were raided, their meager supplies destroyed. A private Jewish agency provides relief after these frequent outbursts.

# JEW S I N P O L A N D

*To get out seems the only answer.  
But where can they go?*

BY ABRAHAM G. DUKER

**D**URING the last few months the pro-Government press in Poland has been occupied in debate with the more reactionary newspapers on the "problem" of the three million Jewish citizens of that country. The conflict is over the proper method of getting them out of Poland. The reactionary *Endeks* believe that the continuance of the present anti-Jewish boycott, aided by an intensification of physical attacks on Jews, will compel them to migrate. The pro-Government press, on the other hand, pleads for realism; "pogroms" will not drive the Jews out unless they have a place to which they can go. The Jews, crushed physically, their morale slowly crumbling, helplessly await the outcome.

What manner of land is it which can speak calmly of almost 10 percent of its population, regardless of its economic function, as superfluous? Poland is an incredibly poor country. Three quarters of its population are peasants, perhaps the poorest in Europe. Fully one third of the peasant households are on farms of less than five acres. On the other hand, some 6,000 landholders, constituting 2 percent of the farming class, hold one fourth of all the land cultivated. In the cities, unemployment stalks at the heels of poverty. Of a million registered workers, 500,000 are unemployed.

The position of the merchant and artisan middle class is little better. There is a continuous decrease in consumption, even of necessities. The average annual per capita consumption of sugar for the years 1930-33 in Denmark was 58.5 kilograms, in Ger-

many 23.2, and in Poland 9.8. Yet Poland is an exporter of sugar. For the same period, the per capita consumption of cotton in Denmark was 11.9 kilograms, in Germany 4.7, in Poland 1.7. The competition for the little trade that exists is largely a desperate scramble for subsistence. Yet there is a constant influx of peasantry into the city and into the trades, for when the tax collector takes away the last pig from the peasant, the city is his sole refuge. The tragedy of Polish Jewry is that it is artisan in a land where Government cartels and co-operatives have taken away the best markets and where the boycott takes away the dregs; that it is the people of petty traders where populace and Government unite in the cry of "Boycott the Jews!"

The elimination of the Jew from productive life proceeds along two fronts. On the one hand, there is the savage boycott of Jewish tradesmen and artisans; on the other hand, the elimination of Jews from public service and from Government-controlled industry, which is the largest in Poland. The boycott of Jews is older and as ruthless as that in Germany, and yet it has no formal legal standing. It is not imposed from above against the will of a considerable portion of the population. The Polish boycott is founded on a tradition of Jew-hatred as old as Polish nationalism. It has the support of all parties except the socialist and communist. Powerful churchmen like cardinals Klond and Kakowski and Bishop Sapiena approve of it. The rising Polish city population attempts to eliminate the Jews from their city occupations. All ranks of society are united on

the demagoguery of solving the problem of landlessness and poverty by removing the Jews from the economic scene.

The reactionary press has passed the point of general patriotic appeal for the boycott; it takes up specific points toward making the boycott complete. Through its highly developed intelligence service, it furnishes lists of Jewish enterprises in various localities:

"Thirty-six Jews are making a living here—they are depriving thirty-six patriotic \* \* \* Poles of a livelihood." Such a matter of fact approach has the desired result.

To ensure response to these appeals to patriotism the Poles have drawn on Germany for instruction. Unemployed are engaged to picket Jewish stores. Poles buying from Jews are photographed, identified, and their names published in the roll of dishonor in the local press. Peasants who sell their produce to Jews are beaten. The Polish artisan is urged to mark his goods with a special brand so that no patriot may innocently buy Jewish-made goods. The Government, with "national interests" in mind, sets up licensing and educational tests for artisans and merchants; and the examiners, of course, are Polish competitors in the same fields of activity.

If the petty trader among the Jews seeks to escape from the vicious circle of savage competition and boycott in petty trade, and tries to enter the field of larger trade where competition is less acute, he has to cope, in addition to the boycott, with Government-subsidized cooperatives. But if an established tradesman can sell more cheaply than the Government-subsidized cooperative and thus in part avoid the boycott, he still faces the problem of credit. More than sixty-five percent of credit facilities in the country are in the hands of the Government and it is an almost axiomatic policy to grant no loans to Jews who might compete with Gentiles.

Yet some Jewish traders manage to survive. The boycott cannot be completely effective and the Jewish trader can lower his standard of living to that of the peasant

who has turned trader. However, the reactionaries realize that, and they have provided for it by an adaptation of the pogrom—"retail pogroms." No one pays any attention to the explosion of a bomb in a Jewish shop; to the demolition and looting of a few Jewish stores in the market street; to acid thrown at some huckster's face. A merchant whose entire capital is a stock in trade worth some ten dollars cannot recover from its destruction; no one but Polish Jewry knows of it, and Polish Jewry is past noticing such petty troubles. The total effect is terrifying, for all this is a matter of everyday occurrence.

Poland is developing along the lines of State-owned or State-controlled industry. Industry and business under Government control amounted to 22.5 percent of the value of all business in 1931 and the percentage has risen since. The Government employs very few Jews; and those fortunate enough to have obtained positions, are rapidly losing them. Before coming under Government control, the tobacco industry employed 3,000 Jews; today it employs 102 Jews.

Even in Jewish-owned industry the Jewish worker has difficulties in gaining employment. Polish workers have gone out on strike when an employer in need of help engaged Jews. Jewish employment prospects in Polish-owned enterprises need hardly be stated.

The number of Jews employed on public projects is unknown. None are employed in the postal service and in the mining industries; few have found work on the railroads. The situation in the municipalities is illuminating: one third of Warsaw's population is Jewish; the city employs 20,000 people of whom 50 are Jews. In Lodz 46 percent of the population is Jewish—and 4 percent of the municipal employees are Jews.

### *Jewish Children*

The physical consequences of this economic constriction are visible in the statistics on the health of Jewish school children. In the city of Czeszochowa, for instance,



sixty-five percent have no shoes; fifty percent come to school without having eaten breakfast; thirty percent do not eat meat at home even once a week; 12 percent sleep on the floor, for they have no beds. Other towns and cities report in a similar vein. TOZ, the Jewish Medical Society, reports that 60,000 Jewish children suffer from undernourishment.

### Przytyk Incident

While Pilsudski was alive and in power, large-scale physical assaults on Jews were repressed by the Government since they were the favorite rallying point of the opposition. Today this protection is gone. The recent events at Przytyk, really an attempt to drive out the Jews *en masse* from a town, show that legal protection against

"pogroms" is no longer available to the Jewish population. The Jews, sensing that the anti-Semitic excitement of the peasantry was abnormal, appealed to the police chief for protection. He told them to wait until there was a "pogrom" before they sought his help. In the ensuing attack three Jews were killed and a larger number injured; one Pole also was killed in the melee. But in the arrests which followed, more Jews than Poles were seized by the police. The major charges against both factions, something unknown even in Czarist justice, was the same, forgetting of course that the Jews were victims of a mob attack. Next, the prosecution made the trial a continuous tirade against Jews and the Jewish faith. Finally, the Poles were let off with much lesser sentences than the Jews.

The reaction was obvious: the Jewish people suddenly realized that they were without even nominal legal redress, and all Jewry united in a one-day strike of amazing effectiveness. But the moral solidarity at the moment was but a confession of physical helplessness. The floodgates are open.

The Government today has put itself in such a position that if it should protect the Jews it would lay itself open to attack as Jew-run. At the same time, it sees an advantage in diverting discontent with the economic situation in action against the Jews. Beginning with a deficit of 63 million zloty in 1931, the deficit every year has surpassed treasury estimates and in 1935 it totaled 1,150,000,000 zloty, a staggering burden for so poor a land. Exports of agricultural products have dropped drastically, in some lines to one seventh of the 1928 value. The Government is acutely aware of the fact that world conditions alone cannot explain the increasing misery of Polish economic life. Thus the red herrings of anti-Semitism and communism are highly useful. Again, by yielding on the Jewish question the Government hopes to be able to buy peace from the powerful Endek Party, center of virulent anti-Semitism and fascism. Until pressure from abroad and an easing of the present situation combine



Photo by Joint Distribution Committee

**BUSINESS WOMAN:** A pail of pickles is the "shop" of this emaciated Polish Jewess—it is her sole means of livelihood. Helpless, hopeless, she carries on, a pathetic picture in poor Poland.



**HORROR BELOW:** *These Polish Jews are gathered on the roof of a dwelling in Minsk Masowicz, near Warsaw, shortly after anti-Semitic despoilers have run riot through the streets. But they have learned to bear things like that: it is all so common in Poland.*

to make the Government enforce the law against rioters, no change in its tolerance of organized violence may be expected.

### ***Prospects for the Jews***

While there is a possibility of preventing "pogroms" by external pressure on the Government, there seems little chance of improving the economic position of the Jews through cessation of the boycott. All the parties but the Socialist and Communist are anti-Semitic. The Communists are too weak to have any effect on national policy, and while the Socialist Party, which has experienced a revival within the last year, has openly and repeatedly come out in opposition to anti-Semitism, the Socialists can be no more than a weak minority in Poland for a long time to come. Again, even within the ranks of the working classes Socialist doctrines on the Jewish question lack complete acceptance; witness, the occasional strikes against the employment of Jewish labor.

Naturally the Jewish community does not depend on agitation for rights as equal citizens to protect itself. Its working class is assuming leadership in the struggle for Jewish rights and has grown increasingly militant. The idea of the necessity of social change has spread in some form or other to other portions of the community. Thus the labor Zionist ideal of recasting the economic status of the Jew to that of a worker has reached even the ultra-orthodox Jews. At the same time, though the Jewish situation has become more desperate, there is general discouragement as to the possibility of social revolution.

Many forces are engaged in an effort to normalize the Jewish economic structure so that the Jewish community can be more self-sustaining. New avenues of employment are being constantly sought and developed. The effort to settle Jews on land, to teach new trades, to preserve the cultural integrity of the community, is carried on by the Jews through their own efforts and

with some outside aid. The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee has helped in both philanthropic and reconstructive capacities, being of particular aid in occupational retraining in medical work and in the care of children.

Of equal importance in preventing the complete collapse of Polish Jewry has been emigration. Since the war, half a million Jews have left Poland for the Americas, South Africa, and Palestine. With the stoppage of immigration to the United

States, the stream has been diverted largely to South America and Palestine.

A Czarist statesman, whose ideas seem not unknown to the Polish leaders, once gave an epigrammatic solution to the Jewish problem in Russia. "One third will become converted, one third will starve, one third will emigrate." To the first, Polish Jewry has answered with dignity; the second is being well handled by the Polish people and Government; the third is in the lap of the gods.

### **Jewish Agriculturists in Poland**

**P**EOPLE who always think of the Polish Jews in terms of commerce and small trading will no doubt be surprised to learn that there are actually 120,000 Jewish peasants in Greater Poland. It is true that the Jews have no special colonization area of their own in Poland and that their farmers are scattered throughout the country. The Jewish peasants, however, now possess a Federation of their own with 74 branches, mostly situated in Eastern Galicia, called the Jewish Agricultural Federation. This Federation embraces a number of milk co-operatives, the activities of which are growing rapidly. But the Jewish agricultural and milk co-operatives are not permitted to join the Federation of Jewish Co-operatives, and are forced to belong to the General Federation of Co-operatives. This severely restricts the organization of new Jewish agricultural and milk co-operatives among the Jews.

The Jewish Agricultural Federation carries on its work with the aid of the Ica and through a number of agricultural instructors. The Federation also supports Jewish agricultural students and promotes cattle-rearing and fruit-growing. It publishes a monthly organ in Yiddish and in Polish, and labors to educate the Jewish peasants to adopt the latest agricultural methods. With this object in view it also arranges agricultural courses, exhibitions and competitions. The Federation has also made a number of successful representations on behalf of the Jewish farmers in Government circles.

The last Conference of the Federation, held in Lemberg, was attended by about 100 delegates. The spokesmen at the Conference displayed a determined spirit to continue to increase the number of Jewish agriculturists. They all claimed that if the Jewish peasants were well organized, they could command the respect of their non-Jewish neighbors and resist all anti-Semitic terror campaigns.

Unfortunately, there is no aggressive movement in the country for colonization of Jews on a large scale, particularly because the government has not set aside tracts of land for that specific purpose. The present progress in settling Jews on farms in Poland is, and will naturally continue, slow until the government itself gets energetically behind the movement.

—*The American Hebrew*, October 23, 1936.



**NUREMBERG:** Here, at the Nazi conclave in September, Hitler announced his four-year plan of German self-sufficiency, of which the perfectly ordered troops, marching past Der Fuehrer's hotel, are symbolic. The plan calls for considerable deprivation among the Germans, "Honor and freedom come before butter and bread," and "a fat belly counts less from a historic viewpoint than a cannon," are among the Nazi epigrams now current as Germans prepare to tighten their belts.

*Times Wide World*



# GERMANY Tightens Her Belt

## THE MEANING OF GERMANY'S NEW FOUR-YEAR PLAN FOR SELF-SUFFICIENCY

By Cortez Enloe

IN FOUR years Germany must be completely independent of the outside world of all those materials which can possibly be produced by German ability, by our chemistry and industry as well as through our mines and minerals."—*Chancellor Hitler in proclaiming the new four-year plan.*

"A fat belly counts less from a historic viewpoint than a cannon."—*Dr. Joseph Goebbels, Nazi Propaganda Minister.*

The train of thought revealed by these two utterances perfectly describes the program of the Reich for the next four years. Even better, perhaps, than statistics, it proclaims the total mobilization of the country's resources in peacetime and calls upon the German people to join it. If the plan is realized, European powers will have to reckon with a solid force in their midst—a nation boasting a "crack" Army and a nation in which every ounce of flesh, every pound of machinery, every bit of thought is prepared to make its contribution to "the Great Day."

This system of placing Germany behind a line of economic barbed-wire found its counterpart in the days of the World War when the Fatherland was shut off by the British blockade. As one spokesman of the Foreign Office put it: "We held out for four years then and [with the new plan] we will hold out for forty years the next time." The textbooks of present-day Germany, after extolling the "repeated victories of our glorious Army", go on to state that it was not the Army which lost the war, but the plight of starving people at home which forced the surrender. This is a

matter of conjecture, but it is certain that when the next war starts, Hitler and his Nazis will not let Germany be caught without food and raw materials.

### *Germany's Barter System*

The war, revolution, inflation, reparations, rehabilitation, and the depression all took a bite out of the Reichsbank's gold supply. They left the country nearly flat broke and Germany lost her character of a creditor nation. Her foreign exchange reserve was depleted to a negligible sum. When the National Socialists took over the government, Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, famous wizard of German moneybags, found himself with the power to stop the exodus of gold by repudiating Germany's foreign debts and clamping down on imports. A system of barter was established whereby Germany could pay only with the products of her own industry: "You buy from us and we will buy from you, and only so much."

Now, however, the foundation has been knocked from under this trade system through currency devaluation by Germany's competitors. Obviously, a final refusal by Germany to fall in line with the devaluators might cause another great cut in German foreign trade. But whatever the outcome, one thing is apparent: the experience gained by the present peacetime dilemma in which Germany finds herself will prove invaluable if her ports are closed by foreign vessels in the next war. The Nazis realize this feature and their guns of propaganda are booming to keep the people appeased during the privations which they must endure if Hitler's new

four-year plan of self-sufficiency is to be a success.

According to Dr. Walther Croll, writing in the *Deutsche Zukunft*, there are acute deficiencies in rubber, textiles, petroleum and motor fuels, and the finer metals, all of which must be rectified before the problem of industrial raw materials can be solved. Answering the call, German scientists are finding substitutes for imported raw materials.

### **Synthetic Rubber**

A process for the production of synthetic rubber has been devised, and the new product—*Buna*, it is called—is reported to surpass natural rubber in durability by from 10 to 30 percent. It has been tested by the Army and is now being placed on the market at a slightly higher price than the natural product.

### **Clothing From Trees**

German forests are being cut down to provide clothing. By an intricate chemical process, says Dr. Hans Sachtleben, scientific director of Munich's *Deutsches Museum*, the wood is subjected to the action of strong hydrochloric acid and is then distilled. This extracts the cellulose from the wood. Next, the cellulose is forced through a nozzle which shoots it out in fine hair-like strands. The strands are then cut, washed and bleached, and mixed with pure wool. Finally, the resulting mixture is spun into thread. Speaking at the recent party congress at Nuremberg, Inspector Todt, chief of the party's technical bureau, revealed that 30% of Germany's woollen needs were being covered by this material.

### **New Motor Fuels**

The most striking statement since the new plan was announced at Nuremberg in September was made by Herr Hitler at the recent opening of the 1000th kilometer of the vast new road system which the National Socialists are building. He prophesied that within eighteen months Germany would be absolutely relieved of the importation of motor fuel. Although at

present Germany is able to supply over 40% of her motor fuel from domestic sources, she is still forced to import nearly 1,000,000 tons of fuel annually, according to statistics recently issued by the Ministry of the Interior. The idea of making gasoline and motor oil from peat, of which Germany possesses a plethora, was conceived by Friedrich Bergius, a chemist of the I. G. Dye Trust laboratories during the war. The plan, however, did not begin to bear fruit until suitable cash was found to build a large and costly plant on the edge of the peat fields near Leipzig in 1928. Since then its production has advanced by leaps and bounds and this *Leuna* gasoline can be expected to produce the greater part of the Reich's supply of motor fuel in the near future. The remainder necessary to meet the country's consumption demands is to be met by the new gas *Propane* which is manufactured by blowing steam over hot coals. The gas is supplied to the consumer in large cylinders which fit into the rear of the car. Under pressure, reports the journal *Wissenschaft und Technik*, this generator gas is just as efficient and quick-firing as the ordinary liquid gasoline.

### **Honor Before Bread**

But just as German scientists have not been able to make any provision for their shortage of the finer minerals such as zinc, tin, lead, and nickel, so have they been at a loss to arrange adequate barriers against a food shortage. As Dr. Goebbels pointed out, first the raw materials for industry must be imported; then, if there is any gold or foreign exchange left, it can be used for the import of foodstuffs made necessary by the surplus of home consumption over home production in Germany.

"Honor and freedom come before butter and bread," the Propaganda Minister declared—which is to say that sacrifices must be made, that the belt of the new Germany must be tightened in order to build up an Army and to reestablish the German sovereignty.

"National economies are not peace economies but armament economies for prep-



Gendreau

**HARVEST TIME:** In Germany, it witnessed a shortage of wheat—and just as Hitler announced the new four-year plan for German self-sufficiency. Germany is obliged to import a large percentage of her foodstuffs, and the problem of feeding 66,000,000 people solely on the products of German soil remains an unsolved difficulty.

aration for war," states the *Berlin Boersen Zeitung*. "The demand raised during the last war, and even before, to create a general staff for national economy which would give to peace, armament, and war economy that organizational form which would give the highest measure of economic and spiritual assurance of national defensive might is today more than ever a question of life or death for the Reich and for the German people."

Let us take a look at agriculture. It is here that the planned economy is finding its more serious manifestations. The problem of feeding 66,000,000 people solely on the products of German soil is proving a hard nut which the Germans have not yet been able to crack. There are 100 persons to be fed for every 45 hectares (approximately 110 acres) of arable land, with the result that the cool damp climate and the overworked land restrain the farmer from meeting this need, Government subsidies and threats notwithstanding. Thus Ger-

many is forced to import from 15 to 20% of her foodstuffs. The greatest deficit exists in the supply of fats; Germany can produce only 50% of the amount she requires.

The press claims that there is enough exchange on hand at present which is not required for industry to guarantee a supply of Scandinavian eggs and butter for the coming winter. Such a statement should insure peace of mind for many a German were it not for the fact that similar reports were made at this time last year and there followed such a shortage of these products as has not been experienced since the terrible days of the blockade. Around Christmas time, she was indeed a fortunate *Hausfrau* who could buy more than one single egg and an eighth of a pound of butter a day. Even now, on the heels of the revelation concerning this winter's supply, comes the report in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* to the effect that the sale of whipping cream is forbidden except to coffee houses and hotels, while the produc-

tion of ordinary cream is to be reduced by 75%. Also the production of cheese of a higher fatty content than 20% is absolutely forbidden, with the exception of a few of the finer cheeses. The idea here, the paper says, is an attempt on the part of the Government to preclude another serious fat shortage and insure the every-day necessities at the expense of the fancier foods.

### **Meat Scarcity**

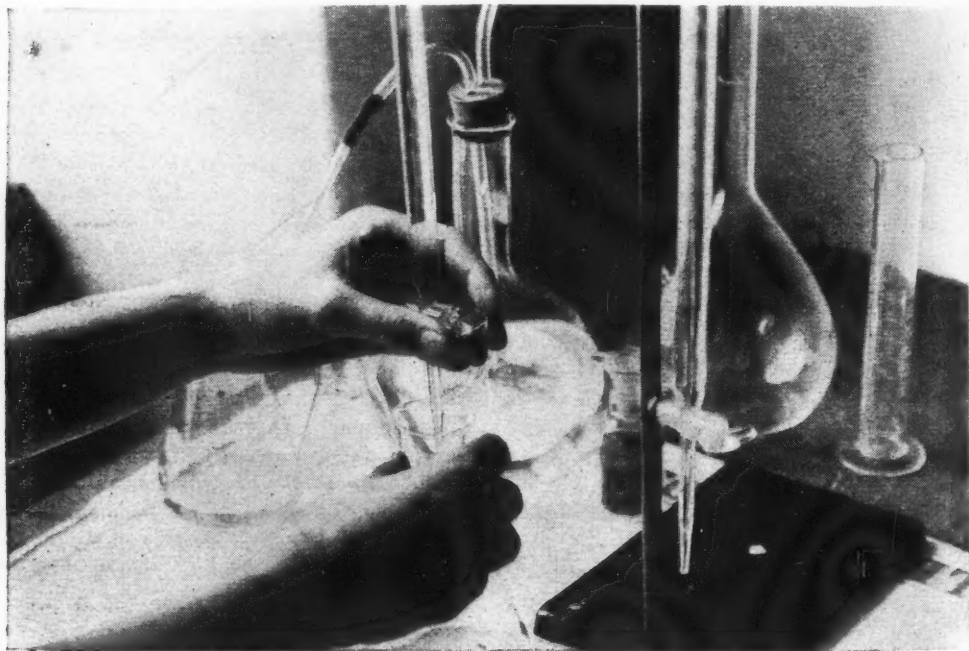
The Reich Food Control Board admits that at the present time it is not possible to meet the demands of customers for certain kinds of meat, especially pork and beef. The board considers it possible that this situation will change for the better later in the winter, but it recommends that the people "enjoy meatless days \* \* \* and eat more fish."

The deficiency was explained by the journal *Deutsche Zukunft*, which stated that "the swine count on June 4 this year revealed an increase in the total number,

but a decrease in the number ripe for slaughter" owing to the lack of fodder in the fall of 1934 and 1935 and the bad weather this year which delayed the harvest.

"The condition of our foreign exchange precluded the importation of foreign fodder as well as meat," the paper stated, adding, "The reduction in our food supply and in certain other necessities which is thus explained shall be accepted by our people in a quieter and more cold-blooded manner."

The food supply of a country is based, not upon the individual demand for meat, or bread, or vegetables, or poultry products, but upon the demand for all these foods together. When the supply of one staple is decreased, it follows that the demand upon the others will show a corresponding increase. This is one law of economics which the German Government has not been able to repeal, although it has been trying. When the amount of pork and beef avail-



Gendron

**CHEMIST:** The Nazi future, as envisaged by the new four-year plan, might well be said to lie in the test-tube. World-renowned German chemists work feverishly to extract from their laboratories substitutes for imported raw materials, sadly lacking in Germany—materials to drive engines, clothe millions, make a nation self-sufficient.



able for consumption recently became scarce, the food control board advised the people that their fat could be obtained indirectly from eating bread, sugar, and vegetables.

### Grain Shortage

The German harvest this year was a great disappointment. Owing to bad weather during the harvest, the actual yield of wheat fell to 12,400,000 tons—several hundred tons short of predictions. The *Frankfurter Zeitung* believes, however, that this deficit easily can be made up by the increased use in bread production of rye and potato meal, which two products appear to have come up to the estimates 100%. Early in October, the mills of Germany were not receiving enough grain to even approximate the demands of the markets. The quotas for wheat and the other bread grains which farmers and millers must meet have been increased. These quotas must be met under all conditions and failure to deliver will subject the delinquents to dire punishment.

The vegetable supply is considered secure for the coming winter due to recent contracts with Germany's neighbors and her own good yield this year. As for sugar, that problem has been solved once and for all by the scientists. German savants have now devised a process whereby the carbohydrate is burned from any sort of wood—the tree itself, or its bark, or sawdust, or from just plain scraps—by subjecting it to the burning power of strong acid. It is a complicated procedure, but the product is real sugar, which would fool any coffee drinker in any country.

One question remains unanswered: How does all this affect the German people? What are the social consequences of this plan to withdraw behind a wall and live in a "splendid isolation"? The answer would seem, at least at present, to be that the average German has been forced to forego many of the demands of his huge appetite and live on less. He has had to tighten his belt and be satisfied.

The war cry of the "Battle Against Waste" has been sounded by the Reich

Women's Leader, Frau Schlotz-Klinik, by demanding that "every *Hausfrau* must become a food minister" and conserve upon the food she purchases and discards. Now the German housekeeper no longer makes out her day's menu before going to market; she first visits the butcher shop and finds what meat she can buy—that is, of course, if she is fortunate enough to have the price for any at all—and then she purchases the vegetables to go with it. In a recent radio speech Secretary of State Backe warned that from 5% to 8% of the total German food-stuffs end up in the garbage pail and that such waste must stop! It is not a request, but a command, that the housekeeper must "realize her duty to the people" and buy no more at the grocery store than is absolutely necessary for her family—regardless of how much money she may have.

It might be well to add here that in spite of the shortage of the aforementioned food-stuffs, prices have not skyrocketed due to rigid Government regulation. In some instances prices are only held down with difficulty and by threats of imprisonment for traitors who forget their responsibility to the nation as a whole.

The propaganda tells the people that they must find moral compensation for the deprivations in doing their part in the plan for economic freedom for the Fatherland. They must take refuge in the spectacular successes Hitler has won in "shattering the chains of Versailles and reestablishing German sovereignty with the new Army, which was born of the people's efforts and willingness to get along on less." Hitler told them at the harvest festival on October 4 this year that when the plan is complete "it will be all the same to us what the remainder of the world does." "Then," he said, "they can devalue; they can raise their prices and wages one day and lower them the next—we will remain safe inside our boundaries. . . ." And so far as the average German is concerned, he can either take it or leave it, for "one can hate it, or one can love it—but no one can change it and no one can remove it." [The Fuehrer at Nuremberg.]



*MODERN STATE: Great industrial development in Czechoslovakia is balanced by sound agricultural projects.*

# CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S CHOICE

A DEMOCRACY BATTLES EUROPE'S FASCIST WAVES

By Charles Hodges

**F**LANKED to the northwest by fascist enemies and uncertain friends, Czechoslovakia stands on guard but unafraid in the midst of Europe's turmoil.

"You don't find us frightened?" President Eduard Benes asked me, not so long ago, when I interviewed him in his quarters in the historic Hradcany Castle overlooking the capital. "I know people stress our difficult geographic position. Here we are, a democratic state surrounded by anti-democratic regimes." He gave me that quizzical smile of his, famous in League of Nations meetings for seventeen years. "We Czechs have been in a dangerous position for twelve centuries!"

This "dangerous position" of Czechoslovakia is a pretty picture of geographic forces beneath European politics.

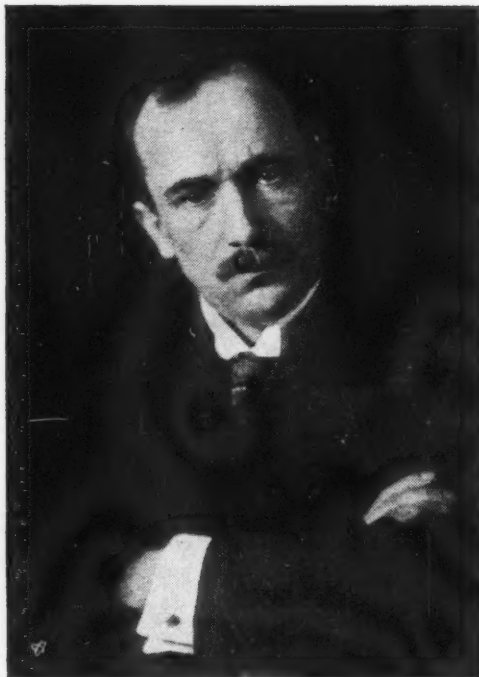
The republic represents an east-west diagonal. It stretches across eastern and central Europe from the girding Carpathian Mountains, where Poland and Rumania pinch the easternmost end, to the Austro-German encircled point. The blunt head of this wedge-shaped state, a six-hundred mile territory in length, is the equivalent of an air-line from Pittsburgh to St. Louis—across four of our big Eastern States. Both in area (54,207 square miles) and in density of population (265 to the square mile), it compares roughly with the State of New York.

Czechoslovakia's width, in dangerous strategic contrast, goes to the other extreme. This varies from fifty to somewhat over a hundred miles. Put on the list of European nations, Czechoslovakia's domain is tenth in size, or a little more than half

the area of Great Britain. Though eighth in number of people, it is sixth in actual density of human occupation—suggesting the high degree of industrial development which characterizes the nation.

As an inland nation, Czechoslovakia finds itself surrounded by five countries at one time or another hostile to this revived Bohemia of European history. Nearly one third of the total length of its frontiers faces Nazi Germany, followed by Poland, Hungary, Austria, and the all-important shortest mileage touching Czechoslovakia's ally, Rumania. Obviously, both trade and defense are complicated by such frontiers. The sea, northward, is roughly three hundred miles away at Hamburg—a German port to which Czechoslovakia is guaranteed free access under the Versailles Treaty. Southward, the inland country is the same distance from the Italian-held port of Trieste on the Adriatic. Thus oceanic outlets on the world's highway—and Czech industry ranks among that of the leading twelve nations—are borrowed from neighbors and depend upon none too secure treaty arrangements.

In short, Czechoslovakia is in the very center of European life. Be it trade, peace, war, this becomes the central fact of its national existence. Its location on the fiftieth parallel of latitude places it in the zone of most vigorous European peoples; it is exactly equidistant from the North Sea, the Baltic Sea, and the Black Sea. It is midway between those two contrasting parts of European civilization—the Latin-Germanic west, and the Slavic east.



*Eduard Benes*

### ***Land—And Peoples***

This land is the product of the Czech will to nationhood and Slovak hopes for independence under the old Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Politically, the state represents frontiers drawn beyond the strict ethnic boundaries of the two closely entwined Slavic races. This overlapping of the political frontier is a compromise between democratic idealism involving the difficult principle of racial "self-determination" and the strategic realities so much to the fore at Versailles in 1919. From a military standpoint, adequate natural frontiers were imperative for the security of the reborn nation.

Toward the west, therefore, Czechoslovakia was rounded out to re-establish the historic boundaries of Bohemia. This meant the inclusion of a German-speaking minority from the collapsed Austro-Hungarian Empire, not from the beaten German Reich, which now forms 23% of the total population. These Germans of the upper

Danubian Valley, however, have shared the rich Bohemian uplands with the Czechs for centuries; and this Teutonic element has been scattered through the country for generations as city-dwellers whom the rulers encouraged to check the turbulent nobility of the country. As a matter of fact, German clots of settlement extend far beyond this greater Bohemia now called Czechoslovakia—a considerable minority being found in Hungary, the Transylvanian part of Rumania, and even farther east on the Volga River in the Soviet Union.

In this eastward direction, Czechoslovakia was pulled southward to touch the Danube in order to give it an outlet on this vital international river. Then the new state was turned east again beyond the Slovak homeland to include more Slavic cousins—the Ruthenians, south of the protecting arm of the Carpathian Mountains. This extension had the double strategic object of completing the encirclement of post-war Hungary and giving Czechoslovakia direct contact with its key ally, the enlarged Kingdom of Rumania.

Inevitably, Czechoslovakia's domestic politics are tremendously colored by these geographic and racial considerations so typical of Europe.

If the length of the country makes for administrative problems, due to the distance from the capital, Prague, located in the northwest, the ethnic areas impose another task on the machinery of government. There has been an increasingly successful effort on the part of Czech leadership to play fair toward their fellow citizens who differ in race, language, or cultural background. Thus the state itself has been subdivided into the natural zones of the population—Bohemia proper, including the mass of Germans and Czechs in the westernmost part of the country; Moravia and Silesia, with a mixture of Czechs, Germans, Slovaks, and a handful of Poles; Slovakia itself in the east-central area, with its Magyar or Hungarian minority toward the Danubian plain; and, to the extreme east, sub-Carpathian Russia, with



its Ruthenian peasant mass overlaid by an ex-ruling Magyar landlord class.

### **Democratic Island**

Politically, Czechoslovakia can be described as a democratic island against which beat the stormy seas of Central Europe's fascism. President Benes frankly commented upon the difficulties of governing this Slavic state with its multi-national fringe.

"Czechoslovakia is a democratic state," he pointed out. "We have not lost faith here in the fundamental value of democratic institutions. We believe that democracy means much more than political equality. It is an attitude of mind toward the social state—a willingness to serve the community according to one's capacity."

Then he spoke of Czechoslovakia's race problems: "I believe firmly in going to the people and explaining to them in straightforward, simple terms the nature of the problem and what I propose to do about it."

So this man of the people—he told me about brothers and sisters still on the land, so typical of the Czechoslovakian set-up—went to the people, the German-speaking fellow citizens of Bohemia. He told them in Reichenberg, or Liberec, and elsewhere what he could do to alleviate their just grievances—and what he would not do to abet seditious activity. He drew a firm line between their complaints as citizens of Czechoslovakia and the Nazi propaganda directed from across the border against the state itself.

He no more asks for the denationalization of the German population than of the Czech: "Our two peoples today are mature enough not to allow themselves to be denationalized." But he stands categorically opposed to the meddling from the outside which today threatens Europe's international system of intercourse between supposedly civilized nations: "According to universally recognized international law, nationality questions are an internal concern for all countries without exception."

Benes, however, does admit one qualifica-

tion on national sovereignty—the League of Nations. He explained that he favored the idea of general international supervision from Geneva because he foresaw a time when the sentiment of nationalism would again challenge the post-war sentiment of internationalism:

"I believe that international machinery was our best safeguard. We had no reason to fear any such supervision because our standards of treatment would be ahead of the generally prevailing international one. Therefore we would never have to accept conditions which were not already in practice in our own country. But even more important, I preferred, in a dispute with other countries over the treatment of minorities, to trust to international action instead of our own strength."

"In the second place, I foresaw a time when nationalism would be once more ascendant. I knew that the strong international feeling of the 1920s would give way to a reaction. When that time came—and it has come—I wished to be in a position where I could appeal to our people to respect our international obligations in order to curb these more ardent nationalists."

"Therefore I can say to them: If you go too far, I must warn you of international complications."

Emphatically, he added: "Just as I demand respect for the law from minorities within the state, so I can demand of our nationalists that they heed our international obligations themselves in agitating against these other citizens of Czechoslovakia."

It is not the writer's intention to give the impression that there are no grounds for complaints from minorities in Czechoslovakia. What I do want to stress is the honest effort of the Czechoslovak leadership to keep a civilized standard of relations with their neighbors within the state—to work toward a full and free interchange of cultural values based on mutual respect for one another. In this process, the maintenance of a democratic framework for politics within which these minorities find a place, not only to live and to work, but to play their part in the civic life of the

community, becomes crucial. Round the rim of Czechoslovakia today, this rôle grows increasingly difficult for German, Magyar, and Pole; the outside forces of disruption, the democracy-hating Nazi and Magyar, would nullify all efforts to live together as European peoples must eventually learn to do in order to escape self-destruction.

### ***Economic Fortress***

One cannot cross this land, as I have done in great sweeps from the tip of Ruthenia to the teeming Bohemian valley country, without seeing a well-organized, busy people.

The population falls into almost two equal parts. The commercial and industrial half lives predominantly in the west; the agricultural half, in the east. There is an enviable balance between those in the workshops of Czechoslovakia, which make anything from toy soldiers to telephone installations, railway locomotives, and siege guns, and the land-owning peasant millions.

Exceedingly well-run railroads bind the country together through its length. Duplicating lines cross the land at significant points—doubled strategic north-south lines which mark the successive zones of defense against possible invasion from the west. Though all part of a transport plan drawn up in the 1920s, everywhere last summer I saw railways being double-tracked, sidings lengthened, bridges rebuilt. And especially true was this of the eastern half of Czechoslovakia, where the decisive stand will have to be made against the Nazi military machine if it breaks loose in the one of two possible thrusts to the east now talked about in Berlin.

Czechoslovakian leaders realize that the preponderant location of key industries in the west and north constitutes a military weakness. As economic realists, they know this has been determined by the distribution of coal, iron, glass sand, and other resources which rim the country. The disadvantage to national defense can be offset only by new industrialization, where mod-

ern technology permits, in more central and easterly spots.

This economic framework, as it were, establishes the character of the Czechoslovakian social order.

We have, above all else, a middle-class nation of very solid qualities. There is, practically speaking, no aristocracy to give a decadent touch to the usual Old World society. Even great fortunes are few and far between in the amazing activity of Czechoslovakian commerce, industry, and finance. Everyone is close to the land—land now accessible to the peasant masses, thanks to the extensive agrarian reforms; the age of feudal estates has passed in this Central European republic. A multiplicity of parties, based on varied interests of nationalities, economic interests, institutional allegiances, and political ideals, determines the nature of parliamentary politics—coalition governments of widely representative blocs. It is a liberal régime, based upon the use, not the abuse, of the principles of self-government under the law of the constitution. Not for nothing is there a replica of the Liberty Bell of American Independence in the Hradcany Castle above Prague.

### ***Diplomatic Moves***

No picture of Czechoslovakia would be complete, no matter how sketchy, without reference to the foreign policy of this Central European republic.

The main actuating principle of a nation put back on the political map by the Paris Peace Conference is inescapable: to maintain as much as possible of the *status quo*, from which it derives its charter of freedom. While this does not prevent adjustments to changing circumstances, these are to be looked upon as adaptations rather than as fundamental alterations in the post-war situation. The implementing of such a policy, essentially one of defense of hard-won liberty, is an equally obvious corollary: ally oneself with those who backed the struggle of Czech and Slovak for independence.

From this open page of diplomacy comes

the outstanding fact in Czechoslovakian foreign policy. This is the French alliance and the related triangular cooperation among Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Yugoslavia appearing in news dispatches as the "Little Entente." This is for south-eastern Europe what the similar Franco-Polish understanding is for the northeast: an essential part of the statesmanship from western Europe aimed at preventing the German Reich's wrecking of the whole Versailles settlement.

The situation looming on the international horizon of 1934 was diagnosed by Dr. Benes, then still veteran foreign minister, as symptomatic of a critical regrouping of European forces. Events have confirmed this view. Accordingly, Czechoslovakia, keeping before it the prime interest of the state itself, has moved to maintain its basic alliances with France and the Little Entente neighbors while never losing the larger concept of a Europe governed by the ordered processes of law-abiding nations. Summed up, Benes held that actually the situation was such "that the political track in the next two or three years will decide if Europe goes toward tranquillity and peace, or toward conflict, and perhaps a war—if it goes toward peaceful collaboration or toward a crash."

For Czechoslovakia, the intervening years have been those of readjustment seeking to reinforce its position. Under the threat of a post-war version of Pan-Germanism, Czechoslovakia sought to bolster up its support in the east. Soviet Russia's pacific policy in the hands of Litvinov facilitated a defensive arrangement between Moscow and Prague. Bitterly, almost hysterically, assailed by Nazi Germany, viewed with half-concealed distrust by the other Little Entente countries not able to go so far along this road with Czechoslovakia, and regarded in Poland with uneasiness, this move constitutes a major development in Eastern Europe; it parries much of the German thrust in this direction.

This marks, to me, the formation of the real battle-line, possibly preliminary to

more dangerous conflict than either diplomatic skirmish or economic attack. For Czechoslovakia, it is being tested on the pragmatic basis of whether it solidifies or loosens the Little Entente bonds; whether it parallels Polish developments on the other side of the Carpathians, where France, perilously late, has recovered much lost ground; whether it generally stiffens resistance to the sharply increased pressure of the Third Reich from the Baltic to the Black Sea.

Men at this time become particularly important. Certainly, outside the spokesmen of the Great Powers, who are important because they are the mouthpieces of the major states, no man has been more influential on his merits than Benes. Today, those in the Czernin Palace, where Czechoslovakian diplomacy is worked out, maintain the essential continuity of the Benes statesmanship—European stabilization through international cooperation. In a word, when Benes succeeded the patriot-statesman and first President, the venerable T. G. Masaryk, he left behind him in the Foreign Office collaborators who are determined to maintain the general direction of Czechoslovakian statesmanship.

This combination of national realism and international ideals seems reassuringly well represented in Foreign Minister Kamil Krofta today. During a long analysis of Central European politics, he constantly urged the need for international collaboration in getting 'round the sharp corners now so apparent. The future of Austria, the ultimate prospect of a Danubian union, the solidarity of the Little Entente all were viewed from the broad-gage conception of how countries, perforce striving to exist in the same crowded neighborhood, best could adjust their differences.

Dr. Krofta showed very concretely however, that this could not be allowed to jeopardize national interests to a dangerous degree. "Now that the Germans have revealed their aims," he observed, in taking up the Nazi expansion along the Danube, "there is developing much dissatisfaction over their tactics in actual

practice. There has been found to be a great difference between the apparent German relations in these countries and the actual results. This has proved a great advantage to Czechoslovakia." In this way, the German drive has been countered by employing some of its own methods. For example, Czechs themselves are now investing a great deal of money in Rumania and Yugoslavia. This generally serves to strengthen the Little Entente relations.

Knowing the role of Czechoslovakia first-hand at Geneva, I queried the successor of Benes on the future of the League of Nations.

"The League is a necessity for the smaller countries," Dr. Krofta replied. "Its successes are ignored because we are blinded by the mistakes that have been made. There

is a solid achievement by the League of Nations that cannot be dismissed. For Europe, it is necessary if we are to avoid the catastrophes of the past."

One final observation: Those responsible for the future of Czechoslovakia refuse to be stampeded into rash moves. Dr. Krofta clearly evidenced this confidence which I found the usual frame of mind from Prague to Bratislava. It permeates these very solid citizens of Central Europe's surviving democracy—they are calm and conscious of their strength. They have dug in to hold the lines of republican institutions under a constitutional régime which governs according to the law. They constitute one of the few sane spots left on the European Continent in these days of ruthless drive for domination inside and outside of nations at any cost.

#### CZECHOSLOVAKIAN INDUSTRY—DISTRIBUTION OF PLANTS

1930 Census

INDUSTRY	Bohemia	Moravia and Silesia	Slovakia	Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia	Total in Country
Mines.....	279	88	60	4	431
Quarries.....	1,800	787	291	23	2,901
Glass.....	954	41	14	1	1,010
Metals.....	1,351	477	104	6	1,938
Chemicals.....	501	143	54	9	707
Textiles.....	1,303	351	32	..	1,686
Paper.....	402	100	38	4	544
Printing.....	1,768	693	459	73	2,993
Leather.....	107	54	18	..	179
Rubber.....	27	8	2	..	37
Lumber.....	2,087	1,064	432	79	3,662
Machine-lathe.....	158	55	1	..	214
Brushes.....	63	36	18	2	119
Musical.....	159	14	2	..	175
Toys.....	115	7	1	..	123
Food.....	4,964	2,461	1,624	192	9,241
Clothing.....	595	228	33	1	857
Gas Plants.....	51	25	7	..	83
Independent Electric Plants.....	200	97	64	8	369
Electric Plants of Systems.....	215	114	73	9	411
TOTALS.....	17,099	6,843	3,327	411	27,680



# STURDY FINLAND

POISE IS ITS MOTTO IN A FEVER-RIDDEN WORLD

By Rodger L. Simons

PEOPLE who like to sprinkle their after-dinner conversation with strange and startling facts seemingly plucked from the air will find their fill in Finland:

"I understand that Finland has 80,000 islands and 60,000 lakes, all with names of their own."

"Did you know that Finland is the greatest per capita book-buying country in Europe?"

"I hear that Finland has a modern motor highway clear to the Arctic Ocean."

More than three and a half million people make up the Republic of Finland, whose area of 148,000 square miles is closely akin to that of Montana and whose north-to-south stretch covers the same parallels of latitude as Alaska. The country is officially bilingual, about 89% of the people speaking Finnish and 10% talking Swedish (sometimes to their embarrassment).

For seven centuries, prior to 1809, Finland had been a Swedish province, heavily impregnated by Swedish culture. Then as a concomitant of a very humiliating military defeat to Sweden, Finland went to Czar Alexander and became a Grand Duchy of Russia. For more than a century Finland was a part of the Russian Empire, but it was as an autonomous state having practically nothing in common with the empire except a ruler and a foreign policy.

In 1917, largely through the nerve and agility of Baron Gustav Mannerheim, Finland wrested herself from her Russian affiliations and set up shop as an independent republic. The resultant spread of national consciousness divided the population into two groups: Swedish Finns and Finnish Finns. The former were the scions of Swedes who had stayed in the land when it

was taken over by Russia and who had contributed most of its social and economic leaders; the latter, comprising a majority, were the descendants of a former subordinate class.

It is this last element, of course, which has been active in the "Finland-for-the-Finns" drive and the consequent annoyance to any one manifesting a mild Swedish inclination. (Thus the common caution to visitors that if they give a taxi driver his directions in Swedish they must at once repeat them in Finnish or the man will be insulted. Fancy the *passenger* insulting the *driver*.)

The question may be raised as to whether or not the Finns have been entirely wise in fostering this spread of the Finnish language and its attendant submergence of Swedish, for they have thereby cut themselves off from an extensive Swedish cultural heritage without achieving any objective of consequence. Finnish is reputedly a very difficult language to learn (for example, fifteen case-forms in the noun, with lush possibilities of declension) and few outsiders have any incentive to master it.

## Forest Land

With three quarters of her land blanketed by trees—largely pine, spruce and birch—Finland has a greater forest area, proportionate to population, than any country in Europe, including Sweden and Russia. And her forests have been the cause of both good and ill, have set the two main problems which confronted Finland as a free nation. One such problem was for Finland to improve the position of her rural element, whose predicament was closely bound up

with the forest situation, and the other was to develop her woodworking industries and thus the general industrial fabric of the land.

To the Finnish farmer, the forests have been both boon and bane. Many a farmer has been dependent on the forests for his livelihood, either in sale of his timber or by working through the winter in logging camps. Many another has found the wooded stretch merely something that had to be rooted out to obtain sufficient ground for tillage.

In few far northerly countries are there such agricultural possibilities as in Finland. Spring materializes out of the warming influence of the Gulf Stream and summer is short but intense. The sun beats down both day and night on grass and grain, on vegetables, berries, and fruit. Timothy and clover hay are the chief crops, followed by oats, rye, barley, and, to lesser degrees, wheat, potatoes, and roots. Through lack of protective duties the self-sufficiency of the country as regards cereals had been greatly weakened during the Russian occupation and much attention of agricultural experts is now being devoted to improvement along these lines.

Finland's livestock interests are represented in her increasing exports of butter, cheese, and bacon. The raising of sheep and goats is declining from an already insignificant level, but pig-raising is on the upswing and so is poultry-keeping. With the passage of a new game law in 1933, the keeping of fur-bearing animals has been encouraged, much breeding stock being brought from America, while in north Finland the raising of reindeer has been practiced from ancient times.

### **Industry**

Timber and its products form the backbone of Finland's industrial structure and her manufactures and exports in this field include not only building lumber, but an amazing variety of plywood, furniture, wood specialties, and, of course, tremendous amounts of wood pulp, paper, and cellulose. For four hundred years timber

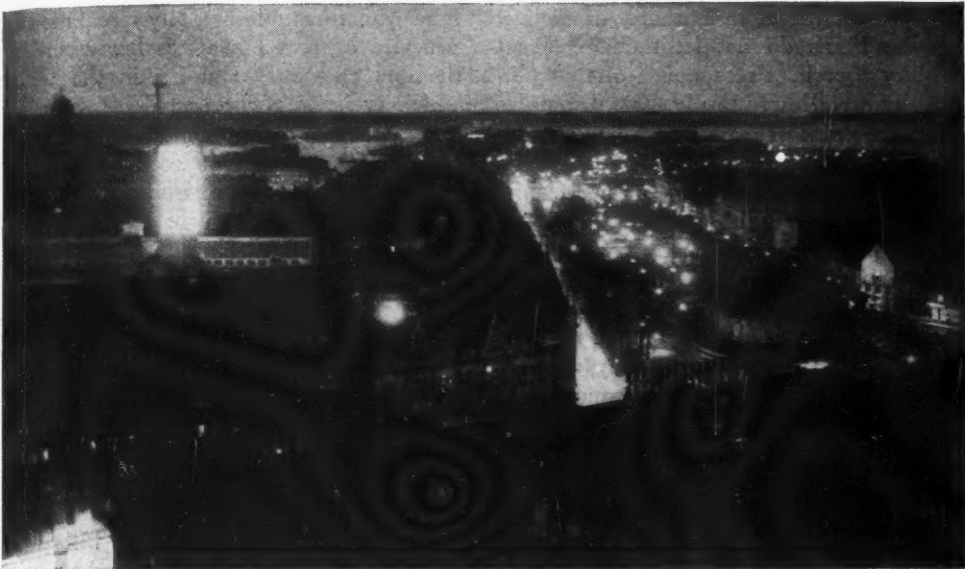
has been a Finnish export, but not until the seventies of the last century did the rapidly expanding sawmill industry really give impetus to the broad-scale development of tree products and thus to a general strengthening of the country's entire economic structure.

During the expansion and export of Finland's forest derivatives, a comparable growth has been going on in her home-market industries, which, in total, absorb 60% of her industrial population and account for the same percentage of the country's total production. A number of these have been active in the export field for years, but with the coming of Finland's independence many have been compelled partly to change over to meet increasing competition on the foreign market.

Metals have been foremost in the development of Finland's home-market industry, for she has deposits of iron, nickel, copper, zinc, limited amounts of lead, silver and gold, and such non-metallic minerals as limestone, graphite, asbestos, talc, feldspar, quartz, and others. Her supplies of iron ore are only of such grade—45% and under—as to make them of real importance in the event of international conflict, or other stoppage of import, but her copper production has reached the status of an important factor in the country's economic program.

Next to metals in importance is the weaving industry, cotton, woollen, and linen. Mass production of woven goods began in Finland as long ago as the sixteenth century and has reached such a level that its focal point, the town of Tampere, has become known as the Manchester of Finland. In this as in other divisions of her domestic manufacture, Finland does not attempt to produce all grades and types of goods, and imports of foreign industrial products are considerable. The Finnish tariff policy is not extortionate and a reasonable import is regarded as a healthy way to keep the quality of domestic products at a decent level.

The vast and variable food, clothing, and luxury trades in Finland are represented by factories turning out chocolate and sweets, canned fish, tobaccos, leather and rubber



**NO SKYSCRAPERS:** *An engaging picture of Helsinki at night. Note the absence of skyscrapers. Some builders would like to create a Finnish Manhattan, but conservatism usually wins in Finland; most of the larger buildings, residential and commercial, are from five to seven stories high.*

footwear and other articles, glass and porcelain, furniture, dolls, toys and sports articles. Improvement of the quality of home-market products is sought by the holding of Finnish fairs at which local goods are judged by an international standard and gold medals are awarded.

Yet the Finns have not embarked on a headlong policy of industrialization, such as their neighbor to the east. Under the guidance of such able men as Mr. Risto H. Ryti, governor of the Bank of Finland, they proceed very cautiously, allowing the productive facilities of the country to expand with the gradual increase in purchasing power.

All this development of industry in Finland and her steady movement toward better times finds a parallel in employment. From a total of 90,000 unemployed during the winter of 1932, the figure had dropped to a trivial 3,700 as of recent date, or one unemployed person per thousand citizens. Even in widely heralded Sweden the proportion is six times as great.

In view of such statistics it is not to be wondered that at the general election of

representatives to the Finnish Diet, held on the first two days of July, the incumbent administration was returned to power. Thus of the 200 deputies now in the Diet, 83 will be of the Social-Democratic hue, 53 of the Agrarian Party, and the rest divided among Unionists, Progressives, the Swedish Party, and others. Balloting in July was rather lively with 1,174,000 votes cast—an impressive total in a population of only three and a half million.

### **Attitude Toward War**

This limited population total is one of the factors in Finland's espousal of peace programs. With only 23 people to the square mile and much cultivable land still untenanted, she has no urge toward land conquest. Nor is it in the nature of the Finnish people to be disposed toward war, despite occasional over-zealous expressions on the part of hyper-nationalistic young Finns. The population is too small, too occupied with other things, and Finland's recollection of past sufferings is too great to foster thoughts of war.

The proximity of communism is an

omnipresent threat to Finland, of course, but the Finns do not let themselves get panicky over it. Protagonists of that philosophy are allowed to ply their principles up to the point of working off excess zeal. When the Government feels that any such local movement is becoming too noticeable, it quietly steps in and stops it.

Though Finland's commerce with Great Britain still is several times that with America, the latter figure is growing. It is to be hoped that the trade treaty signed between Finland and the States last May will accelerate this traffic. There is a general disposition on the part of the Finnish people to be friendly toward the United States, and an increasing amount of American goods is seen in store windows throughout the new Baltic republic. Similarly the exhibitions of Finnish manufactured goods which have been held during the past year in about a dozen American cities have been a striking indication of the range of Finland's export products.

Aside from the achievements of Mr. Paavo Nurmi, about the only fact on Fin-

land which has attained any circulation in America of recent years is her record as the one and only country in the world which is settling her war debts, even including those to the United States. Due to the accumulation of gold and foreign currency in the Bank of Finland, the country's general foreign debt has been very considerably reduced. Thus during 1935 alone the total of her long- and short-term indebtedness was sliced to about \$60,000,000, a cut of \$20,000,000 from the previous year's figure.

The punctuality of Finland's war debt payments has so endeared this country to the Americans as to have achieved the status of amiable radio and vaudeville jests. Questioned about this policy, the Finns always quietly explain that the bills were contracted in the purchase of food supplies during the last year of the war and hence are construed as a debt of honor.

### *Inexpensive Living*

Happily Finland has not carried out her debt-payment policy by the impoverish-



**FESTIVAL:** *Helka festivals are held each Spring in Finland. Participants wear the national costumes of tradition. A new country, Finland is intensely proud of her past; folklore research is one of its outstanding intellectual endeavors.*



ment of her people. The general level of living and of income is not so high as in Sweden but you see comparatively few paupers and no one palpably ill-clad and undernourished. In fact it is an agreeably inexpensive country to live in, with the Finnish mark worth about two cents at current exchange rates. Thus a double room with bath in one of the leading hotels of Helsinki [Helsingfors] will set you back about eighty finmarks or a dollar-sixty a day. Those wishing to cut the corners a little can be very comfortably accommodated, sans private bath but with daily change of linen, for about thirty finmarks daily per person. And meals—a good three-course dinner for fourteen finmarks. Convert that into cents and it looks attractive.

Though Helsinki, the capital, is a heavily taxi-cabbed town—a ratio of one cab to every 225 of the people—a good deal of passenger transport in winter is by sleigh. Of the northern capitals, Helsinki resembles Copenhagen in its feeling of life and gaiety and has much more sparkle than is permitted by the sense of somber dignity with which the Stockholmers preside over their city.

There is a handsome old Russian monastery on the island of Valamo, in Lake Ladoga, the largest in Europe. But aside from this and an occasional monument or church, Finland bears few mementos of the Russian occupation. In the majority of her towns, buildings, customs, and institutions—and in her motor cars, tailored clothes, and chewing gum—Finland is much more American than Russian. The modernity of her cities will impress you. Thus in Helsinki, as in Stockholm, a few hours away across the Gulf of Bothnia, the old-time single-family home has been almost entirely displaced by blocks of barrack-like modern apartments, complete with central-heating, radio, and chromium window trim.

Most of the larger buildings, residential or commercial, are from five to seven stories high. This is a source of much woe to the building contractors of Helsinki,

who think it would be just too, too ducky to make their nice city into a modern Manhattan. But the municipal authorities, apprehensive of traffic complications, rarely will approve anything above eight flights. Their one "skyscraper" is a slim tower of fourteen floors.

But Helsinki with 234,000 people is not the only city of size in Finland. There are at least three others with populations of 55,000 and up. Turku, the former capital, very strongly Swedish, has for years been a university city and center of Finland's ship-building industry. Tampere, an inland point, has for more than a century hummed with myriads of textile spindles. And Vipurii, near the eastern end of the Gulf of Finland and not far from the Russian frontier, is a shipping point for vast amounts of timber goods, as well as being scenically one of the most charming small cities in northern Europe.

The zeal for social advancement which focuses attention on the Scandinavian countries is in full flower also in Finland. Thus the Finns gave the vote to women long before America or any of the European countries did—in 1908, to be precise. And they have developed a wide range of co-operatives for both buying and selling. Poultry and dairy products, bakeries and restaurants, grain elevators, and, in at least one instance, a newspaper plant—all run by coöperative associations.

### *Finnish Culture*

And the cultural side: Sibelius you will think of, of course. But there are other names in Finland's intellectual life who are rising to positions of esteem at home and acknowledgement abroad. Perhaps the most talented figure in modern Finnish music is Yrjö Kilpinen, 44 years old, who has steered the Finnish song into new paths and won considerable recognition in Sweden, Germany, and especially London during recent seasons.

In literature the first name to be mentioned is that of the novelist Frans Emil Sillanpää. As yet almost unknown in America, Sillanpää has been a familiar name

in Europe for a number of years. Though his works cover a wide field—love tales, interpretations of nature, studies in child life—they are all touched, but not too deeply permeated by, the sense of the Finnish national sufferings which the author had witnessed at close range during his Finland's War of Independence.

Like the country's other cultural manifestations, Finnish art has a strongly national tone; it is a vivid expression of Finland's mind and life. An outstanding name to be mentioned in this field is Jussi Mäntynen, an animal sculptor whose figures are beginning to appear in private collections in America. Having rather few great men, the Finns take good care of those they do have. Thus Mäntynen has found a ready but well-deserved reception for his works among his countrymen, not only in parks, museums, and kindred repositories, but even by presumably cold-blooded business houses. Two of his finest figures stand before a large Finnish paper mill, the property of its owner.

The language handicap is a factor which dooms the Finnish theater to a comparatively restricted public. Their dramatic companies make an occasional loop through the Scandinavian lands, but that represents about the only audience they can ever hope to enjoy. In addition to the established native-language houses, a new

Swedish theater is being opened in Helsinki this Fall, relatively small but splendidly appointed and complete in every detail of professional equipment.

There is at least one branch of intellectual endeavor in which the Finns have become outstanding—folklore research. Intensely proud of their great national epos, the *Kalevala*, they have made it the starting point for a vast program of study and investigation in the field of Finnish and Finno-Russian folklore. Dating from the 1760s to the present and embracing an area of 200,000 square miles, this study now totals more than a million individual items, including songs, proverbs, magical and mythical rites, folk tales, riddles, games, ballads, runes, and legends.

This material has been transcribed with scrupulous accuracy and is of interest, to students of the northern peoples, also providing many fascinating links between the Eastern Slav and Western European cultures. In addition to the Finnish and Swedish texts, the findings in this field are now being published in English, French, and German at the expense of the Finnish Academy of Science. Prime mover in this research is the society known as the Folklore Fellows, founded in Helsinki in 1907 for the promotion of international folklore research. Thus does a new country keep contact with her past.



# RUSSIA'S NEW CONSTITUTION

*What it provides, what it means,  
and why it was drafted*

By SAMUEL S. SHIPMAN

A SPECIAL session of the All-Union Congress of Soviets, the highest legislative body in the U.S.S.R., was about to consider and ratify in late November a new constitution for the country. The draft of this constitution was submitted to the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee on June 11 by a Constitutional Commission of thirty-one persons, headed by Joseph Stalin and including many of the foremost leaders of the country. The draft represented more than a year's labor, the commission having been appointed in February last year by the Seventh All-Union Congress of Soviets. The group was instructed to draw up a new charter providing for the introduction of universal equal suffrage with direct secret elections, taking into account the changed social-economic relationships and the achievements of the Soviet power since promulgation of the existing constitution in 1924. The presidium approved the new draft and ordered it to be published throughout the country for general public discussion.

The history of Soviet constitutions opens with the "Declaration of Rights of the Toiling and Exploited People," written by Lenin and adopted by the Congress of Soviets in January, 1918, two months after the founding of the new regime. This was incorporated into the first constitution of the R.S.F.S.R. (Russian Soviet Republic), adopted in July 1918. Several years later it was decided to unite the separate soviet republics, which had been bound together by treaty arrangements, into a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., ratified in Janu-

ary, 1924, contains the treaty of union as well as the basic laws of the federated republics making up the union.

The first constitution affirmed the abolition of private property in means of production and of exploitation of man by man. However, at that time and also when the 1924 constitution was adopted, the abolition of classes could be spoken of only as an aim to be realized in the future. While the foundation had been laid, the economic and technical bases of a fully developed socialist order had not yet been created. In the villages the system of small-scale, individual farming still predominated and provided a soil for the development of capitalist elements. Privately owned agriculture accounted for a considerable part of the national income and private trade preempted the lion's share of retail merchandising.

Since that time the collectivization of agriculture has brought 90% of the peasantry within the fold of the so-called "socialist sector." Private trade has been virtually eliminated. The remnants of internal opposition have all but disappeared. A powerful state industry based on the most modern technique has been built up. Coordinated national plans direct the entire economic and social development. Education has spread by leaps and bounds.

These far-reaching changes could not fail to be reflected in a corresponding change in the psychology of the working class and peasantry. In the villages, in particular, the entire outlook of the peasants has been altered with the shift from the individual to the collective method of working and the widespread introduc-

tion of machinery. The new constitution is designed to reflect these alterations in Soviet society.

### *Society and the State*

The first two of the thirteen sections of the draft constitution, a document of 146 articles totaling about 8,000 words, are concerned with the organization of society and of the state. Article 1 states: "The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a socialist state of workers and peasants." This formulation expresses the fact that there are still two main classes differentiated by several important criteria, such as form of property and method of receiving income, although the remaining gap between city and village is being steadily diminished by schools, newspapers, books, etc.

The two basic forms of socialized property—state and collective—are defined. The land, forests, mines, factories, most of the large apartments in cities, banks, means of transport and communication, belong to the socialist state—that is, they are the property of the whole people. The other primary forms of socialist property are the collective farms, occupying land which the state has deeded to them in perpetuity. The basic means of production and working livestock belong to the collective, but each individual member of the collective is entitled to possess his own house with a plot of land around it, domestic livestock (cows, pigs, sheep, poultry) and minor farm implements, as guaranteed by the model constitution for collectives adopted last year. Similarly, the state guarantees and protects by law "the personal property of citizens in their income from work and in their savings, in their dwelling house . . . domestic articles and utensils as well as objects of personal use and comfort."

To take care of the remaining 10% of individual peasants and the small and dwindling group of artisans (tailors, handicraftsmen, etc.) still not connected with cooperative or state enterprises, the law allows "small private farms and other en-

terprises of individual peasants and home-workers based on their personal labor and precluding the exploitation of the labor of others." This guarantees the right of an individual peasant to work a piece of land obtained from the state by means of his own labor and that of his family, but not to engage outside labor. Full civil and political rights are extended to these groups. Finally, the first section reaffirms the realization in the U.S.S.R. of the basic socialist principle: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work," and repeats that "he who does not work, neither shall he eat."

The new constitution also lays down the principle of complete equality for all nationalities making up the U.S.S.R., which principle has been embodied in the fundamental law since the establishment of the Soviet power. It states that "the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a federated state, formed on the basis of the voluntary association" of the various constituent republics, "possessing equal rights." Moreover, to each "union republic is reserved the right freely to secede from the U.S.S.R." The number of union or federal republics making up the U.S.S.R. is increased from seven to eleven. This results from elevating the status of Kazakstan and Kirghizia, formerly parts of the R.S.F.S.R., (Russian Republic), to Union republics and the breaking up of the Transcaucasian Federation into the three federal republics of Azerbaidjan, Georgia, and Armenia. These changes are a reflection of the rapid economic and cultural growth of the outlying national republics.

Powers reserved to the central government are enumerated; the sovereignty of the federal republics is restricted only within these limits. Among those functions which lie only within the competence of the U.S.S.R. are foreign relations, defense, the currency system, foreign trade, determination of the national economic plans and budgets, administration of transport and communications and of banks, industrial and commercial enterprises of all-Union importance, and criminal and civil



codes. Local industries, education, municipal affairs, and like matters are entrusted to the federal republics. Their powers have been broadened and a measure of decentralization affected by the creation in each of the republics of people's commissariats, or departments, for the food industry, light industry, the timber industry, and state farms.

### *Organs of State Power*

Radical changes have been introduced in the structure of the higher organs of the Federal Government and the constitutional republics, with which sections three to eight are concerned. Under the present constitution the district, regional, republican, and all-Union congresses of Soviets were not elected directly, but in each case consisted of delegates chosen by the next lower congress. The respective executive committees, all the way up to the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R., the highest administrative organ of the state, were selected by the corresponding congress of soviets. The bases of this pyramid were the thousands of local soviets in cities and villages elected by the local population. Under the new system all state organs, from the highest to the lowest, will be elected directly and deputies are subject to recall by decision of a majority of the electors. The highest body of state power will be the Supreme Council, consisting of two chambers, the Council of the Union, and the Council of Nationalities, both having equal power and elected for a term of four years. The former is elected on the basis of one representative per 300,000 population, and will consist of about 600 members. The latter is appointed by the highest organ (Supreme Council) in the various national units, each federal republic being entitled to ten representatives, autonomous republics to five, and autonomous regions to two, making up a body of about 250 deputies. The need for two houses arises from the Soviet policy with respect to nationalities. While the Council of the Union represents all the people combined, the Council of Nationali-

ties takes into account the special problems of each separate nationality.

An important change in the electoral procedure is the removal of inequality in voting between the village and city populations, which gave the city an advantage of approximately 2.7 to 1. With the process of collectivization almost completed, this feature is no longer considered necessary. Its removal is expected to strengthen the bonds between workers and peasants, while the direct election of representatives will result in closer contact of the masses of the population with the directing organs.

The sweeping reforms in the electoral system, dealt with in Section XI, have been completed by extending the franchise to certain groups formerly deprived of this right and by the substitution of secret for open balloting. The existing law has denied voting privileges to former Czarist officials, those exploiting the labor of others, and certain other elements considered hostile to the Soviet regime. The new constitution guarantees the right of suffrage to every citizen of the Soviet Union on reaching the age of 18, excluding only criminals and the mentally deficient. Social origin, property ownership, and former occupation can no longer be used as a basis for depriving a person of the rights of suffrage. Candidates for election may be proposed by Communist Party organizations, trade unions, cooperatives, youth organizations, and cultural groups. Soviet authorities expect that the secret ballot will be one of the most powerful weapons in the struggle against bureaucracy and defects in the Government apparatus.

It is apparent that in the reconstruction of the electoral system and the state apparatus, the Soviet Union has taken a leaf from the experience of western democracies. But in using the best elements of the parliamentary system, there has been no hesitation in discarding those features which have a negative appeal from the Soviet viewpoint. Notably, for instance, there is no separation of the legislative from the executive and judicial functions. The Supreme Council, besides being the

highest legislative body, appoints the Council of People's Commissars, "the highest executive and administrative organ of state power." It also appoints, for a term of five years, the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., which is the highest judicial organ and has supervision over all other courts.

A change of considerable moment in the courts (section IX) is the introduction of direct, secret election of the people's court judges. The judges are elected for a term of three years. Formerly they were selected by the soviets or by district executive committees. The key to the reason for this change is given in Article 112 which says: "Judges are independent and subject only to the law."

With the electoral reforms, the provisions of the 1936 draft constitution that have aroused greatest interest abroad are those dealing with the rights and duties of citizens, which is the subject of section X. The right to work, annual vacations with pay, old age pensions, and other forms of social insurance, free education from kindergarten to the university, equal rights for women and for all nationalities and races, freedom of religious worship—these rights now actually existing are reaffirmed by the constitution. Moreover, the constitution adds that the citizens of the U.S.S.R. are guaranteed freedom of speech, of the press and of assembly and inviolability of person. "No person may be placed under arrest except by decision of court or with the sanction of a state attorney." The rights of citizens are accompanied by the obligation to maintain labor discipline, to safeguard public property as the foundation of the Soviet system, to undertake military service when called upon, and "to defend the fatherland." Section XII Specifies the emblem, flag, and capital, and the final section states that the constitution may be amended only by a two-thirds vote

in each chamber of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R.

### *Widely Discussed Document*

Probably no state document in recent years has been so widely published and discussed. Copies of the draft constitution were transmitted simultaneously to every city, village and collective farm in the country. Many millions of copies were published in the scores of languages spoken by the diverse nationalities of the U.S.S.R., in pamphlet form as well as on large colored placards. Meetings were organized in factories and farms everywhere, in clubs and scientific societies, in schools and colleges. The new features were explained by local leaders and everyone was encouraged to participate in the discussions and make suggestions for improvements. Twelve thousand newspapers threw open their columns to readers and many thousands of wall newspapers, typed or written by hand, in state and co-operative enterprises, invited contributions. Workers, Red Army men, peasants, academicians, students, sailors, actors in all parts of the far-flung territory of the U.S.S.R. took part in this public discussion, in many cases making concrete, interesting suggestions for changes and additions.

Special regional and provincial congresses of soviets, made up as a rule of delegates chosen by the existing city and village soviets, were convoked throughout the country in October and November for the purpose of electing delegates to the extraordinary All-Union Congress of Soviets, which was to adopt the new constitution. Constitutional commissions appointed by the governments of the respective federal republics are drafting republican constitutions taking into account the specific features of the republic but conforming with the constitution of the U.S.S.R. Republican congresses of Soviets, to be convened after the All-Union Congress, will ratify these constitutions.

# AMERICA'S RED CROSS

*A record of service to mankind—  
vital, human, neighborly*

By ALWYN W. KNIGHT

ANY organized group influencing the American scene as vitally as the Red Cross inevitably stirs the public interest. The volunteer membership of the American Red Cross now totals 4,137,636 men and women. Why?

There are numerous reasons, and the basis of each is factual, but together they do not give the complete story.

The Red Cross idea was born in 1859. Henri Dunant, a young Swiss, organized a group of women to relieve the suffering of the wounded following the battle of Solferino between Austrian and Franco-Sardinian forces. Later, he published a book describing the agony he had sought to assuage and, with a group of friends, urged the universal formation of volunteer societies to aid the wounded in time of war and to give assistance in epidemic and disaster in time of peace.

In 1864, thirteen European nations and the United States—the latter unofficially represented—met to act upon Dunant's proposal and drew up the articles now known as the Treaty of Geneva. France, Switzerland, Belgium, Netherlands, Italy, Norway, Denmark, Spain and Baden signed; America did not.

Clara Barton, a former New England school teacher, served troops passing through the national capital during the Civil War and dressed their wounds on nearby battlefields. Traveling in Europe later, she visited Geneva and was immediately convinced of the practicality of the Red Cross movement. After considerable difficulty and delay Miss Barton secured President Arthur's signature to the Geneva Treaty in 1882.

Today, Red Cross societies are active in 62 nations.

In May 1881, one year before America became affiliated with the international Red Cross body, Miss Barton had organized the American national society with headquarters at Washington, D. C., and had subsequently established its first three local units in Dansville, Rochester and Syracuse, New York. Less than a month after the Dansville unit was organized, the infant organization was called upon to aid its first disaster victims when forest fires swept through Michigan. Eighty thousand dollars in materials and money were expended to aid the fire sufferers.

Today, the organization has just completed the gigantic task of relief for a half million victims of the tornadoes and floods which struck 20 eastern states last Spring. The 1936 Red Cross expended in this one operation approximately *eight million dollars*, contributed by the people to help victims through the Red Cross.

The march of progress during 55 years of Red Cross service can be no more forcefully illustrated.

On 17th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., stands the national headquarters of the American Red Cross. The white marble building was erected in memory of the mothers, wives, and sweethearts of the men whom Clara Barton, first Red Cross president, so gallantly helped during the conflict between North and South. A red cross, illuminated at night, guards the entrance, denies no one, and heralds the bee-hive activity within when Red Cross disaster relief forces mobilize to meet new threat.

Two branch offices operate at St. Louis



**FOOD FROM THE SKIES:** When flood-stricken towns in Pennsylvania were isolated from all help, the Red Cross loaded supplies on Army planes. These were dropped to the distressed people. Red Cross volunteers are shown above packing supplies at an army field at the Aberdeen Proving Grounds, Maryland.



and San Francisco, thus splitting the map of the United States into three parts to facilitate administration. These national Red Cross offices have their counterpart in the chapter and branch offices active in more than 12,000 cities, towns, villages, hamlets. There is a Red Cross headquarters, large or small, in every county in the nation and in each of the nation's insular and territorial possessions.

The American Red Cross is not a branch of the Government, though its structure may be said to be quasi-governmental since one third of its governing body of 18 men and women, including its chairman, is appointed by the President of the United States, who is also nominal head of the organization. This governing body is called the Central Committee. Of its remaining 12 members, six are elected by the Red Cross Board of Incorporators and six by chapter delegates. All the members serve in a volunteer capacity.

Chairman of the American Red Cross is Rear Admiral Cary T. Grayson, who was appointed by President Roosevelt in February 1935 to succeed the late John Barton Payne.

Red Cross activities are not financed in any part by Government money. The organization's work of mercy is conducted entirely with funds contributed by the people at the time of the annual membership roll call, and by utilizing specific bequests and the interest on endowment and invested funds. The War Department audits all Red Cross expenditures and receipts and submits a report on its findings each year to the Congress of the United States.

Red Cross operates under a charter granted by Congress, part of which reads, "... to continue and carry on a system of national and international relief in time of peace and to apply the same in mitigating the sufferings caused by pestilence, famine, fire, floods and other national calamities, and to devise and carry on *measures for preventing the same.*"

The last suggests the opportunity for a broad translation, and Red Cross, as witness the diversity of its services, has capital-

ized upon the opportunity in a practical manner. With quiet efficiency lives are saved, economic individual burdens lightened, the sick healed, the injured given on-the-spot care, the nation's youth organized for community service and international friendship. These things have been and are being done by the people of America through their chosen agent, the Red Cross.

Bear in mind that so brief a summary of accomplishment as the following can not state the whole case: the facts are indicated as well as recorded.

The National Red Cross organizes, supervises, encourages; Red Cross Chapters carry the services which best meet the needs of their separate communities.

Major disasters are a responsibility of the national organization but the Chapter, with efficient committees of local leaders, frequently administers relief following smaller catastrophes and is of great assistance to national disaster relief workers at all times—particularly in the work of evacuation and emergency care.

Since its first unit was organized in Dansville 55 years ago, the American Red Cross has brought relief to the victims of nearly 2,000 disasters—*s t o r m*, fire, shipwreck, flood, epidemic, and many others. Food, clothing, and shelter were given; homes were rebuilt and repaired; vocational training made widows and permanently injured persons self-supporting again; medical and nursing care aided the sufferers.

The National Red Cross maintains a current roster of 37,000 nurses as a reserve corps, subject to call by Army, Navy, or other government agencies in time of war. When emergency arises, these Red Cross nurses also serve in time of peace. Last year nearly 2,000 of these reservists were active during epidemics and disasters.

More than 1,100,000 men and women have been trained by the Red Cross in first aid. When accidents happen they know what to do and what not to do, so that the victim will not be unduly penalized by the time elapsing between the accident and arrival of a doctor. The first aider splints fractures, stops severe bleeding, treats for

shock, applies artificial respiration, and prevents aggravation of injury through rough handling by the well-meaning but untrained bystander.

Three quarters of a million persons have been trained as life savers, taught water rescue and safety methods. More than one thousand men and women who teach life saving and are responsible for safety at beaches and pools received special advanced training from the Red Cross last year.

Eleven hundred Red Cross first aid stations established beside main highways make equipment and training immediately available when motor accidents occur nearby. The crews of trucks regularly plying the highways are Red Cross trained in first aid; the highway police of eight states have now completed instruction under the Red Cross and will augment these mobile units.

Last year Red Cross public health nurses made 1,000,000 visits on behalf of the sick in remote rural communities and city tenement areas. They cooperated with physicians in examining 671,000 school and pre-school children, arranging for curative treatment in 209,000 cases where physical defects were found. Home care of the sick and hygienic measures have been taught to 838,000 individuals throughout the nation by graduate nurses.

During the past year 133,000 Red Cross volunteers were on active duty, made millions of surgical dressings, hundreds of thousands of garments for the needy, printed 342,000 pages of Braille or raised

writing for the blind, helped in government hospitals, and assisted in countless other ways.

Members of the American Junior Red Cross, enrolled to discharge their credo, "I Serve," number 8,351,000 school boys and girls. They aid in community projects, organize welfare programs, make gifts to children, veterans, and the aged in hospitals. Their service funds are self contributed from money each child earns or saves. Internationally, the Red Cross Juniors correspond with the Juniors of other national Red Cross societies, promoting good will and a better understanding between the future men and women of nations.

The crest of the economic depression found hundreds of small communities with no local agencies to administer family relief—save the Red Cross Chapter. The Red Cross was therefore asked to undertake the task and Chapter workers were immediately trained by the national organization. The work has been continued and last year Red Cross Chapters acted upon an average of 22,674 family problems each month.

It is the chartered obligation of the Red Cross to aid service and ex-service men. Last year Red Cross Chapters assisted 256,000 veterans or their families; workers in government hospitals and the Veterans Administration and its regional offices gave sound help to 59,200 ex-service men or their families. The Red Cross during the same period helped 41,000 men now in active service. The type of aid given in each case was essential, human, and neighborly.

# SPEED ON THE HIGHWAYS

## A STUDY OF THE AUTO AND ITS SAFETY PROBLEMS

By Silas Bent

WITH 6% of the population of the world, the United States has 70% of its automobiles. Our entire nation could be awheel tomorrow if it chose. The day laborer, who has a cheap car to get back and forth from work and for Sunday drives, has no choice but to accept the high-powered machines on the market, and even the cheaper makes have now been stepped up to a maximum of 80 or 90 miles an hour. Those in the higher-price brackets can make from 100 miles an hour up.

At anywhere near these maximums the average driver has virtually a runaway car. In his hands any vehicle moving more than 50 miles an hour is a potential lethal weapon. It is a commonplace of conversation that the automobile is deadlier than warfare. Last year we had 820,000 accidents, we injured and in some cases maimed for life a million persons, and we killed 27,000 of them. Small wonder that Secretary Roper of the Department of Commerce has undertaken an inquiry into highway safety; it will be less wonder if the problem becomes a subject for Federal regulation and legislation.

This problem is mainly a by-product of the American mania for speed. We suffer from the delusion that swift mobility is a form of civilization. The motor car, gratifying and intensifying this singular notion, has worked a greater change in our folkways and our national life than any other single agency. During a five-year depression, many families which had to forego a telephone kept the automobile in service somehow; such is the national devotion to this machine.

Three-fourths of the driving in the United States is for pleasure. A friend of mine describes it as "motion without motive." As a people we abhor even a short walk, and it is a common jest that we may become a legless people, because unused organs perish.

### *A Nation of Nomads*

We are even by way of becoming a nation of nomads, living in automobile trailers. As an institution—which by now they have become—they are less than six years old, but more than 300 firms are building them, and more than 100,000 have been sold. At a conservative estimate, some 300,000 Americans live in them, year in and year out. It is possible to get along thus, so it is asserted, on as little as \$60 a month. The additional cost of pulling this movable apartment is about 25 cents per 100 miles. It may contain comfortable sleeping quarters for four, a kitchen sink, range, a stove for heating, a washstand, and a chemical toilet. Its cost runs around a thousand dollars, and it may be purchased, like the car which hauls it, on the installment plan. Many who sell their homes to adopt the gypsy life prefer to buy outright.

Obviously the main advantage of the trailer is that it affords an escape from the American system of taxation. The man who puts another bath into his home must pay additional taxes, but the nomad can take a sponge bath in privacy and pay no taxes either on that or on the home he occupies. Here again a governmental problem arises; for in their sovereign power to levy rates our State and Federal governments must levy taxes on these rolling homes.

Trailer life is the most conspicuous recent development of our national mania for the motor car, but the development of the modern automobile itself is remarkable. Its trimmings are of chromium, its pistons of aluminum, its turret usually of steel, its panels welded instead of being bolted, so that in effect its main structure is an integral unit. In accord with the style trend, it is streamlined. The streamlined car is more dangerous, not only because it is capable of higher speeds, but because it restricts the area of the driver's vision.

### ***Perilous Styles***

That is but one point in which style constitutes an element of peril. Why should the driver's seat, which should be specially placed and cushioned for his function, be precisely like the passenger seat beside him? They serve different purposes and should be differently constructed. But the purchaser is finicky about looks and might object to this. The low-swung body is chiefly a matter of style and often causes minor accidents or damage to the machine on ramps. The smart low seats and small windows make it inconvenient or difficult to signal with the hand. Automobile style has sales value but little else to recommend it.

Dean A. Fales of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, which is conducting an independent inquiry to learn whether the modern automobile is as safe as it might be, says that "power-plants have been developed to a point far in excess of the road-holding, steering, and braking abilities of the vehicles in which they are installed." These over-muscled cars run so smoothly that the driver is often deceived as to his speed. He seldom looks at the speedometer. One manufacturer who produced a new model, more powerful and smoother than its predecessor, found to his chagrin that accidents in this model trebled those of its predecessor.

### ***Carbon Monoxide***

Mr. Fales suggests further that the vacuum ventilating systems generally used in automobiles can and do draw carbon mo-

noxide fumes into the bodies. To the public, carbon monoxide is known chiefly as an occasional means of suicide; it should become better known as a cause of death and accident in driving. F. M. Van Dwyer, an engineer, has made a survey which shows that of all the automobiles tested at random, about one in every twenty contained dangerous quantities of carbon monoxide and that in more than half of them there were measurable traces of the poison. Motorists who acted as though they were drunk have been arrested after accidents on the ground of driving while intoxicated, but examination has shown that their condition was due, not to alcohol, but to monoxide. Others have been found dead at their wheels from the poison.

In two fifths of the cars tested, exhaust leaks were found at some point ahead of the normal tail-pipe discharge point. In two thirds, there was low combustion efficiency. D. H. Palmer, who reports these facts in *The New Republic*, inquires, "Of what sort of technical perfection can car manufacturers boast when low combustion efficiency is the rule and passenger compartments are so leaky and exhaust connections so poor that one runs the risk of being poisoned by the deadly carbon monoxide while driving along a country road?"

Mr. Palmer lists as other causes of poisoning trailing eddy currents from the car itself, exhaust gases from the car ahead, exhaust leaks from loose gaskets and other defective parts, exhaust manifold heaters—one of the worst hazards, and crank-case breather pipes.

The pedestrian in the city encounters a minor hazard from this monoxide gas, but his greatest danger is when he walks along country highways. An investigation has shown that the rate of pedestrian death per accident is about three and one-half times as great there as in towns.

### ***Speed and More Speed***

During the last decade, while automobile horse-power was being steadily increased in response to public demand, the pedestrian death rate has increased by 29%, while at



speeds of more than 50 miles one accident in 11 is fatal. The fellow afoot can be bumped off at almost any speed, but during this decade the deaths from collisions have increased 142%. At 30 miles an hour nowadays, only one accident in 42 causes death. At the tortoise speed of 35 miles an hour, it requires 110 feet for the driver to stop his car. A car emerging from a side street, even a chicken or a dog running across the road, often causes serious hurts at higher speeds.

Yet higher speeds are the demand of the American mass. Even Henry Ford began using speed as a selling point several years ago. "Feather-touch" steering wheels and brakes, which increase the hazards of nervous drivers, have been adopted generally to attract women buyers. Yet it must be admitted that the manufacturer has made his machine structurally almost fool-proof. If his product is not quite as safe as it should be, it is because he has given way to public demand under the pressure of bitter competition.

Yielding to the coercion of the market, it must be said at once, has proved profitable. Some of the factories in Detroit are running day and night now on a five-day week. General Motors increased its sales last year 34% over the year before. In December of 1935 the output for the whole industry exceeded the output of any December in its history—more than 400,000 cars. To finance purchases of new cars three quarters of a billion dollars was lent during the year, and to finance purchase of used cars nearly half a billion. This year, so far as the records are available, promises to outdo that bonanza to bankers and manufacturers. No sooner had the clouds of depression and panic begun to lift than the automobile market began to expand. Six sevenths of the cars sold were of cheaper makes.

Cheap, light cars have difficulty in holding the road and tend to weave slightly. They are so unstable that an inequality in the concrete or a gust of cross-wind may throw them out of control at high speed. Their weight distribution, adopted because

the motorist demands easy riding, makes their traction poor. (We have only one make of automobile with a front-wheel drive—that is, with the driving wheels beneath the principal burden of weight—whereas Europe has three such models.)

But even the cheap cars have been vastly improved. They have balloon tires, multi-cylinder engines, reduced piston displacement, and forced oiling systems. Among the more expensive makes there is one streamlined machine which is safer than others, but does not seem over-popular. Its construction eliminates the usual chassis, and follows the plan of an airplane fuselage. This gives strength without undue weight. Soundly scientific principles were observed in constructing it, and the day may come when it will be imitated in cheaper makes, if the public will permit it.

What is being done to decrease the destructiveness of this homicidal instrument? Should legal restrictions be placed on manufacturers in regard to design and equipment? Are State and municipal speed limits effective? If we come to Federal regulation, under the welfare clause of the Constitution, could it be so framed as to apply to a neglectful and wilful minority without imposing on the majority?

Such questions immediately pose themselves to public and private agencies which face one of our major national problems. In regard to speed limitations they are dubious in nearly every case; yet we have varying speed laws nearly everywhere. For years Connecticut seemed to point the way to a new and more rational practice by stipulating that any speed was permissible provided it did not constitute a danger to the driver and to others; but Connecticut now has a statute making the maximum speed on the highway 40 miles. It is recognized generally that such restrictions do not prevent the reckless from driving at much higher speeds, but at any rate they afford a method of discipline for offenders.

### **Governors as a Solution**

Most frequently, in these discussions, one hears the suggestion that governors, to regu-

late the speed to a predetermined rate, shall be put on all cars. There are many arguments for and against this. After Secretary Roper began his inquiry, a committee representing automobile manufacturers submitted a report to him dealing at some length with the question. The argument was advanced that the use of such a device on all cars might well increase accidents. There would be greater danger in passing, and it is part of the American mania to want to pass the car ahead. And, among other objections, it was suggested that "the dangerous driver would 'jimmy' the governor, while only those willing to be governed would be controlled."

Now, aside from that casual commentary on the people of this country as predisposed at least in part to lawlessness, I think the arguments of the manufacturers were a bit disingenuous. The fact is that they know they couldn't sell cars to the speed-mad American public if governors were employed reducing their rate of movement to reasonable terms. Any Congress which passed a law requiring such devices in interstate traffic, (this would meet but a tiny fraction of the problem) would be retired from public service almost automatically by enraged constituents. Any State Legislature enacting such a law would meet the same fate. This people would no more tolerate an enforced leisureliness in moving about than it would tolerate another attempt to prohibit the use of alcoholic liquors.

Dean Fales thinks it would be better to apply governors to drivers than to vehicles; and this has a bottom of good sense, because the speeding road-hog is the most frequent cause of motor manslaughter. If it were possible to establish on our streets and highways manners as good as we practice at the dinner table, the automobile death rate would drop astonishingly. Mr. Fales suggests that if the speedometer were built to set off a buzzer at high speeds, and so warn the driver that his car might be getting out of control, it would prove useful.

Dr. Miller McClintock of Harvard and

some of his associates in the Erskine Bureau of Traffic Research argue that to require governors on motors would be no more sensible than to prohibit razors because they are sharp and people can cut themselves. This point of view, as I see it, accords with Voltaire's statement that the consequence of protecting fools from the results of their folly is only to create more fools. Or, to take the other view, it simmers down to an assumption that if the people of this country want to commit a combined mass suicide and manslaughter annually, it is their affair. Is not this the land of the free? The truth is that many trucks and buses are equipped even now with governors which perform their function efficiently, and that there is no wailing nor gnashing of teeth among the owners and drivers about the loss of their precious liberty. They do not construe liberty as a license to speed.

### ***Educational Campaigns***

A campaign of education, now virtually nation-wide, has been undertaken in the hope that the American people can be taught good sense. Milwaukee and other cities have schools for drivers. In Huntington, Ind., violators of minor traffic rules get a warning instead of a "ticket." The warning is a sticker bearing notice of the offense, which must be left in place for thirty days. If there is another offense during that time the driver goes to a police cell. In Los Angeles, in similar circumstances, a sticker is placed on the windshield, "Traffic Violator." These scarlet letters are a punishment in themselves, because they subject the driver to suspicion, ridicule, and avoidance. Oklahoma City times its parked cars with an automatic meter in crowded areas. In New York State the automobile association proposes to give a reward to the safest driver it can find, but he must have driven 50,000 miles during ten years without an accident or conviction of a traffic violation. Hundreds of candidates have applied for the honor, which is heartening. The daily press and some magazines have put in valiant strokes in awakening the public to

its foolhardiness and its danger. It is a mass problem, and requires mass educational methods.

### ***Driving in the Dark***

Mostly we are daylight drivers. More than half our accidents occur after dark. The death rate doubles during the evening rush hour in Winter, when we go home in the dusk or the dark. Studies made by the State of Michigan and the University of Maryland show that about one tenth of the cars moving at night were doing 60 miles or more an hour.

Automobile headlights have two faults: By their glare they dazzle or blind approaching drivers or their own driver; and they tend to deteriorate rapidly, especially at high speeds. Frequent inspections and

tests of cars, not only as to headlights but as to brakes and engines, are indicated as an avenue to greater safety. Some States require this semi-annually, which is regarded by the motorist as a hardship, but which is not often enough. If quarterly inspections could be required by Federal enactment it would help.

More rigid examinations of applicants for drivers' licenses, and periodical examination thereafter, would eliminate many who are well-meaning but a danger because of faulty eyesight, imperfect reflexes or jittery nervous reaction. Much is being done by public and private agencies in the search for remedies, but much more remains to be done if our streets and highways are to be made moderately safe for those on foot and those on wheels.

## **Jung on Dictators**

**I** HAVE just come from America, where I saw Roosevelt. Make no mistake, he is a force—a man of superior but impenetrable mind, but perfectly ruthless, a highly versatile mind which you cannot foresee. He has the most amazing power complex, the Mussolini substance, the stuff of a dictator absolutely.

There are two kinds of dictators—the chieftain type and the medicine man type. Hitler is the latter. He is a medium. German policy is not made; it is revealed through Hitler. He is the mouthpiece of the Gods as of old. He says the word which expresses everybody's resentment.

I remember a medicine man in Africa who said to me, almost with tears in his eyes: "We have no dreams any more since the British are in the country." When I asked him why, he answered: "The District Commissioner knows everything."

Mussolini, Stalin, and Roosevelt rule like that, but in Germany they still have "dreams." You remember the story of how, when Hitler was being pressed by other Powers not to withdraw Germany from the League of Nations, he shut himself away for three days, and then simply said, without explanation: "Germany must withdraw!" That is rule by revelation.

Hence the sensitiveness of Germans to criticism or abuse of their leader. It is blasphemy to them, for Hitler is the Sybilla, the Delphic oracle.

—Professor C. G. Jung, Swiss psychologist, quoted in  
*The Observer*, London, October 18, 1936.

# AUTHORS *in this ISSUE:*

**H. Parker Willis** (*Accord on Money*) is professor of banking at Columbia University. An economist of wide academic, journalistic, and public experience, he drafted the Federal Reserve Act, 1913, the Federal Farm Loan Act, 1914, and, as technical adviser to the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, 1930-32, the Banking Act of 1933. Professor Willis is author of *The Federal Reserve System*, among other works, and co-author of *Contemporary Banking*, *The Banking Situation*, and *Economics of Inflation*.

\* \* \*

**Ludwig Lore** (*The Score in Spain*). See CURRENT HISTORY for November.

\* \* \*

**Michael Williams** (*How Many Slain?*) is editor of *The Commonwealth*, the Catholic weekly review of literature, the arts, and public affairs, and is a well-known figure in American literary circles.

\* \* \*

**Curt L. Heymann** (*Reforming the League*) is on the editorial staff of the *New York Times*. He was formerly foreign correspondent in London, Berlin, Geneva, and Paris for American newspapers and European news agencies. He has contributed frequently on foreign affairs to leading American periodicals.

\* \* \*

**Ronald Stuart Kain** (*Peace and the Americas*) is associate editor in charge of international relations for the *New International Year Book*. A former newspaper man and a keen student of Pan American subjects, he has contributed to CURRENT HISTORY in the past, and to the *Political Science Quarterly*.

\* \* \*

**Abraham G. Duker** (*Jews in Poland*) is Book Review Editor of *The Jewish Social Service Quarterly* and Research Librarian of the Graduate School for Jewish Social Work. On two recent

trips to Poland, he made exhaustive studies of the Jewish situation in that country, and has lectured frequently on the subject. He is author of *The Situation of the Jews in Poland*, New York, 1936, and has contributed to many American publications on Eastern European history.

\* \* \*

**Cortez Enloe** (*Germany Tightens Her Belt*) writes from Berlin, where he has been living for the past four years as correspondent for the *Kansas City Star*.

\* \* \*

**Charles Hodges** (*Czechoslovakia's Choice*). See CURRENT HISTORY for November.

\* \* \*

**Rodger L. Simons** (*Sturdy Finland*) is an American newspaperman who writes on the northern countries for several London publications.

\* \* \*

**Samuel S. Shipman** (*Russia's New Constitution*) spent three years in the Soviet Union in an engineering capacity. For the past several years he has been engaged in research work and writing on developments in that country.

\* \* \*

**Alwyn W. Knight** (*America's Red Cross*) has been doing public relations work in the Red Cross for the past two years. His free-lance articles have appeared in the *Washington Post* and the *Baltimore Sun*, among other publications.

\* \* \*

**Silas Bent** (*Speed on the Highways*) is author of *Machine-Made Man*, 1929; *Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, a Biography*, 1932; and *Buchanan of the Press*, a novel, 1932. A former editorial writer for the *New York Times* and once an associate editor of *The Nation's Business*, he has been free-lancing since 1922. He is a contributor to the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*.



# THEY SAY

SOMETIMES IMPORTANT ★ OFTEN AMUSING ★ ALWAYS AUTHENTIC

**I**N THE name of the Government of the Spanish Republic, the workers, and the democratic organizations that are defending constitutional legality against armed fascism, I heartily greet the Central Executive of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the toilers of your land.

—Telegram from Largo Caballero, President of the Spanish Republic, to M. Kalinin, President of the Executive Committee of the U. S. S. R., as published in *Izvestia*, Moscow, October 14, 1936.

In the name of the Government and toilers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics I thank you for your warm greetings and am utilizing this occasion to transmit to the revolutionary government and heroic people of the friendly Spanish Republic our most hearty wishes for success in their struggle for freedom and the right of the people.

—Reply from M. Kalinin to Largo Caballero, also published in *Izvestia*, October 14, 1936.

**Dear Comrades!** We women workers in the garment factories of the great capital of the Free Country send our flaming greetings to the heroic people of Spain who struggle courageously against the murderous bands of the fascist generals in defense of the freedom and independence of their country. We are confident, dear sisters, that your victory is near. It is a righteous war that you are waging and, whatever the sacrifices may be, victory belongs to you.

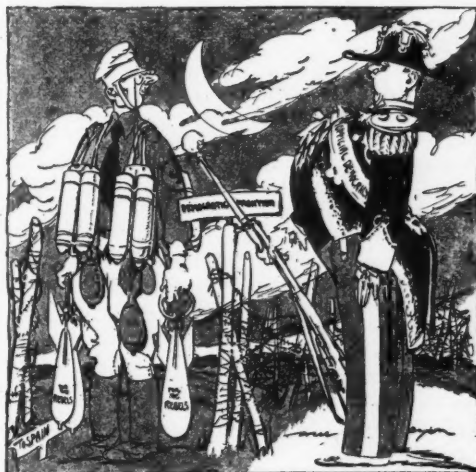
In these days of severe struggle and great ordeal, we are wholeheartedly yours. \* \* \* In common with all the toilers of our great land, we have contributed towards the purchase of provisions for your children, and now we are also honored to sew garments for your little ones.

Tell your near ones, those who are engaged in combat with the insolent fascists, that your children will not be left without clothes. And know that the whole people of the Soviet Union are with you!

—Resolution adopted and dispatched to Spain by women workers in the needle trades of Moscow, as published in *Pravda* (Moscow), Sept. 15, 1936.

## Gen. Han's Bluff?

The fact that the Japanese are again exerting pressure on Gen. Han Fu-chu to force him to join the puppet Hopei-Chahar Political Council at Peiping has brought into prominence the key position now occupied by the Shantung governor, who, with the exception of Gen. Yen Hsi-shan in Shansi, is the only head of a province still able to maintain a semi-independent position with respect to the Central Government at Nanking. The recent settlement of the Canton-Kwangsi complications and the reorganization of the military and financial establishments in the southern provinces by the National Government has caused attention to be turned on Shantung where the Japanese are trying to fish in troubled waters with the object of strengthening their military position in North China. The chief-of-staff of the Japanese



"Halt, who goes there?"

"Enemy!"

"Pass enemy—for the moment I thought you were a friend!"



Il Travaso, Rome

**BOLSHEVIST ART**

**Dynamite Worker** "What do you think of it? My fame is made."

Kwantung army recently declared the intention of the Japanese warlords to "protect" Gen. Han Fu-chu in the event the National Government should try to interfere in Shantung which the Japanese regard as their "sphere," despite the action of the Washington Conference in 1922 which compelled the Japanese to restore the province to Chinese control.

This brings us to the story about Gen. Han and Japan's master of military intrigue, Gen. Doihara, who recently visited the Shantung Governor and exerted all possible influence to induce Gen. Han to break with Nanking and join the "Five-Province-Coalition" which the Japanese have marked out on the map as their new puppet state. According to the report whispered about in Peiping and Tientsin, Doihara arranged for a private interview with Gen. Han and specified that the conversations were to be secret with no interpreters, bodyguards, or attendants of any character present; not even the ubiquitous Chinese boy who brings in hot tea and towels at all official interviews. When Gen. Han arrived at the appointed place and hour he was ushered into a room, all very mysteriously, where he found Doihara waiting for him. The Japanese general then launched upon an explanation of his schemes in North China and made Gen. Han an attractive proposition if he would join in with the Japanese military machine and help consolidate the so-called Japan-Manchukuo-China "bloc." But Gen. Han, while expressing deep appreciation for the Japanese offer, explained that he was only a simple-minded military man, unfamiliar with politics, and suggested that Gen. Doihara "take the matter up with the Nanking Government." Gen. Doihara then went over it again, increasing the inducement, whatever it was, but each time Gen. Han raised objection. Finally Doihara lost patience

and pointed out to Gen. Han that the house was surrounded by Japanese gunmen and unless Gen. Han agreed to the Japanese warlord's proposal he would never leave the room alive. At this point Gen. Han took out his watch and pointing to it explained that before he left his headquarters he had given instructions that in the event he did not return by 10:30 o'clock he had issued orders to his troops to massacre every Japanese in Tsinan. What happened after that has not been recorded but at daylight the next morning a Japanese military plane alighted on the Tsinan airfield and scarcely had it stopped before Doihara climbed aboard and the plane roared away to the North. A few days later the General Staff ordered Japan's "master of intrigue" back to Tokyo.

—*China Weekly Review*, October 3, 1936.

\*\*\*

**A New Race Theory**

Unexpected competition has sprung up against Gobineau's race theory which in Germany has been elevated to the rank of a dogma, placing \* \* \* the Aryans above all other culturally creative peoples. The Turkish philosophers believe to have sufficient evidence on hand proving that the Turkish language is the mother-tongue of all other languages, whence it follows logically that all existing cultures are likewise the offspring of Turkish culture. The Aryans, consequently, are losing their claim to primacy.

Naturally enough, Turkish scholars are exercising themselves to spread this theory of theirs abroad. With that in view, they invite numerous sages from abroad each year to their "Feast of the Languages" founded by Kemal Pasha.

—*Prager Presse*, Prague, Czechoslovakia, October 9.

\*\*\*

**Sudeta Germans**

The Party Assembly of the Sudeta Germans, convened to meet at Falkenau on August 29 and 30, was prohibited by the Czechoslovak authorities on the plea that the Assembly would have met in such enormous numbers that it would have been bound to endanger public order. In answer to the prohibition almost all the inhabitants of Falkenau marched out on the day on which the Assembly was to have met to an outlying forest, the result being that on the Sunday in question the town was practically depopulated. At the party meetings held since then at Römerstadt and Karlsbad Conrad Henlein once more most energetically demanded autonomy for the Sudeta Germans. In his speech at the latter place during the meeting held there on September 6, Henlein made the following statements:

"Our native land, which has been saturated with the blood and the sweat of our fathers, belongs for ever to us Sudeta Germans. Our native land is Germany and we must use our utmost strength to ensure that our native land shall always remain German. It is impossible to exterminate

nate three and a half million Sudeta Germans. ... We must never cease proclaiming that for us there can be no solution of the Sudeta German question until our demand to be granted the right of self-government in our own affairs has been definitively complied with."

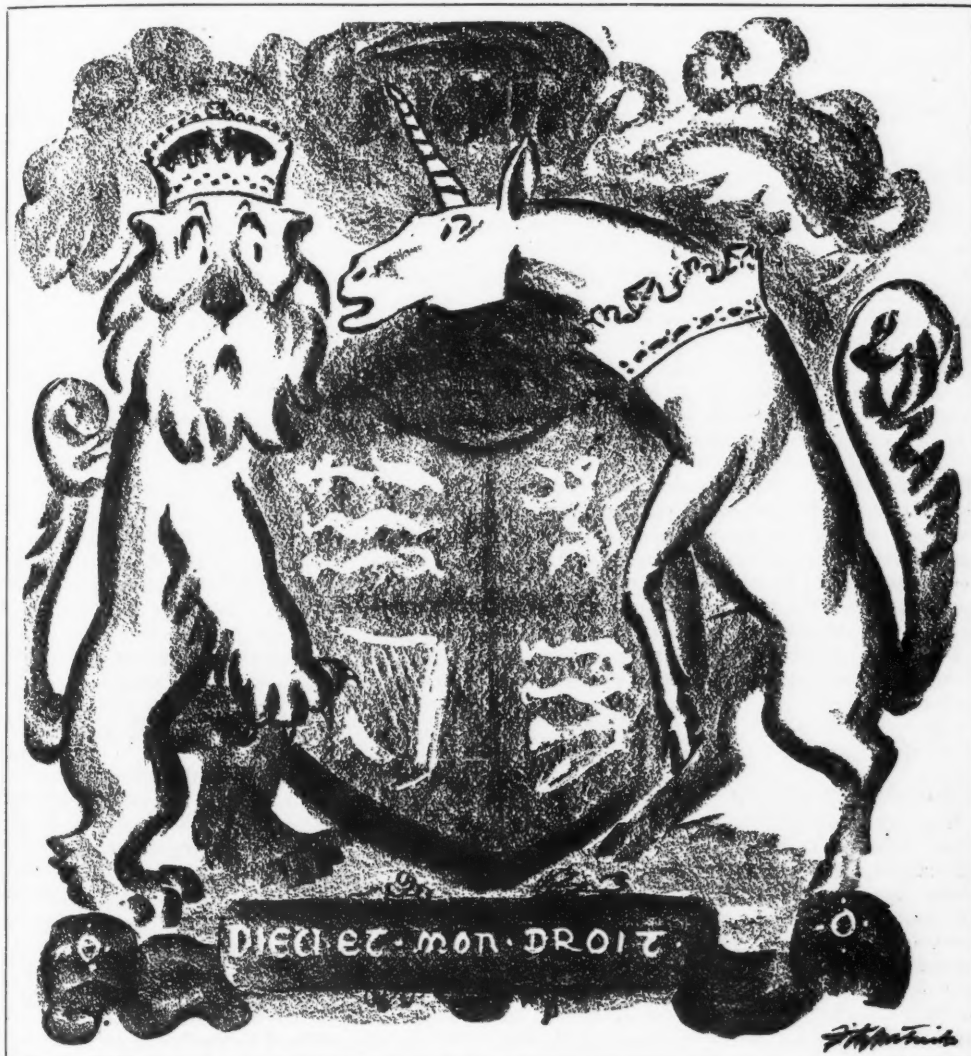
—Danubian Review

**That synthetic State** [Czechoslovakia] contains three and a half million Germans. Nazi racial principles claim them for Germany. Under false representations by the Czech delegates at the Peace Conference they were transferred from Austria to the new hybrid nation of Czechoslovakia created by various peace treaties. A million Hungarians were annexed in the same way.

These racial minorities have never been assimilated. Harsh treatment by the Czech Government makes them increasingly conscious of their captivity in a strange land. But for Czechoslovakia's associations with France and Russia it is doubtful whether they would have remained unliberated so long. Continuance in their present condition is manifestly impossible.

If the British Cabinet were disposed to make a practical contribution to the peace of Central Europe it would offer a discreet word of advice to the Czech Government. The speedy grant of local autonomy to its German and Hungarian populations is the only means of averting the critical situation which will otherwise soon confront Czechoslovakia.

—London Daily Mail



St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"SO THEY SAY."



Il Travaso, Rome

### RUPTURES OF PEACE IN PALESTINE

"Does this petrol yield well?"

"Yes, eight corpses to the gallon."

### Shanghai Cabaret

During the past five years, Shanghai has seen a great boom in the cabaret business. Cabarets have sprung up just as fast as "the bamboo shoots after rainfalls," and thousands of Chinese taxi-dancers have been hastily trained up to meet the increasing demands. Young business men and college students have gone to cabarets even more regularly than they have attended to their offices or classes. Even many of our old people have thrown away their mask of morality and forget the pains of their stiff legs in trying to master modern American dancing steps. Thanks to the thoughtfulness of cabaret-owners, even the poor people can afford to enjoy this pastime, when the price of dancing has become so cheap that one can have ten or even fifteen dances at the mere cost of one dollar. Just think of it, one can dance with a girl \* \* \* for a few minutes at ten cents or less. No wonder, on Saturdays and Sundays, cabarets are packed to the overflowing, for nowhere can you get back so much by spending so little.

—China Weekly Review

### Schuschnigg's Coup

The way in which Schuschnigg [Austria's Dictator] eliminated the Heimwehr and his rival Starhemberg is a measure of the difference between Austrian and German political methods. The Heimwehr made the same sort of a bid for supremacy in Austria that the Storm Troops under Roehm did in Germany. But whereas the destruction of the Storm Troops involved the blood-bath of June 30, 1934, and the murder of Roehm, in Austria the crushing of the Heimwehr has been at the expense of two or three street demonstrations and a few well-timed decrees.

Schuschnigg does not, however, now become a dictator: he was that before. For in the past few months it became plain that the Heimwehr was incapable of reversing the overthrow of Starhemberg and that its own disappearance was only a question of time.

But one mystery attaches to the series of events: How far Schuschnigg owes his supremacy to Hitler and what price will he ultimately have to pay for it? True, the Austro-German agreement which was concluded on July 11 seemed on paper to be all to the advantage of Austria, since the Nazis apparently abandoned thereby their ambition to absorb the country. \* \* \* Presumably the Italians, who in 1934 constituted themselves the protectors of Austria against a German Nazi coup, approved of the agreement, because they trusted Schuschnigg not to yield too much in return. But there are those who think that Mussolini sold the pass to Germany. . . .

—From an Editorial in *Manchester Guardian*, October 12, 1936.

\* \* \*

### Oil and Coal

Now a word about petroleum reserves and the recurring scares concerning exhaustion. To the best of this industry's knowledge and belief, proven reserves exceed twelve billion barrels. Their magnitude, and the extent of the added reserve that inevitably will be created as new discoveries are made, are such as to assure every consumer of petroleum products that there is not the slightest indication of any imminent danger of a petroleum shortage. The millions of users of internal-combustion engines likewise may be assured there are supplementary supplies of motor fuel of almost unlimited quantities which economically can be obtained from such substitutes for well oil as bituminous coal and oil shale. And the motorist should not be stampeded by the predictions of alarmists into believing he should trade his flivver for a horse and buggy for fear he cannot obtain sufficient fuel to keep the old bus rolling!

—W. R. Boyd, Jr., executive vice president, American Petroleum Institute, in an address on April 9, 1936, at the spring meeting of the southwestern district of the institute's division of production, Shreveport, La.

About one percent of the original coal reserves of the United States has been consumed, leaving an estimated  $3\frac{1}{2}$  trillion tons still in the earth, and making this country the repository for about half of the world's supply, Mr. [W. A.] Selvig [of the Bureau of Mines, Interior Department] said. However, the greater reserves consist of low rank bituminous coal, sub-bituminous coal, and lignite, while reserves of the higher rank coals are relatively small. As the bulk of coal mined consists of the high grade, high rank coals, the best naturally will be the first to be exhausted, he pointed out [in a talk before the Purchasing Agents Association at Hamilton, Ontario, Canada].



At the present rate of consumption of 900 million barrels per year, the known oil reserve in the United States will last only about 15 years, Mr. Selvig said. New oil reserves will be discovered, Selvig pointed out; nevertheless the frequency at which new fields are being found is declining and the necessity of supplementing oil with liquid fuel from coal may be required within the present generation. \* \* \*

—Press Memorandum, U. S. Department of the Interior, June 17, 1936.

### Germany Explains

We have no desire to impose National Socialism upon other peoples. If it is their wish to combat bolshevism with democracy, it is all right with us. But we may be asked: "If you, in Germany, have really vanquished bolshevism, why do you still talk about it?" To which we can only answer: "It is because we are conscious Europeans. We know that Germany is not the only country in the world, that we are surrounded by neighbors with whom we have formed economic and cultural

relations, and we wish to continue those relations."\*\*\*

We witness turmoil, frightful fratricides. We listen to speeches: "The Red Army is the standing army of world revolution." We observe that in Karelia and in Ingermanland (Arctic Russia), village after village is being depopulated so that a thoroughfare may be created against Finland and the Baltic states. We watch the aggressive military activities on the Russo-Rumanian border, and we notice the aircraft which Russia continues building in ever-increasing numbers. And then there emerge before our eyes also the cities and towns and churches of venerable Europe.

Should it all go to ruin, like the churches of Barcelona, like the Alcazar of Toledo? No! we will let the gentlemen of Moscow manage their affairs as they please, but we want nothing of their anti-European teaching. We want the protection of Europe's sacred shrines. . . .

—Dr. Alfred Rosenberg before a group of foreign correspondents and representatives of the Diplomatic Corps, as reported by the *Berliner Tageblatt*, Berlin, October 16, 1936.

## FRANCE DEBATES DEVALUATION

*Following are excerpts from the debate on devaluation in the French Chamber of Deputies on Sept. 28, as taken from the Journal Officiel. Speakers who are quoted may be identified as follows:*

**The Rapporteur Général, M. Jammy Schmidt**—Radical-Socialist, pro-Government.

**M. Pierre Colomb**—Radical Left group (center), has the reputation of being one of the comic personages of Parliament.

**M. Louis Marin**—Republican Federation (right), former minister.

**M. Georges Bonnet**—Radical-Socialist, against Front Populaire government, former minister.

**M. Pierre Mendès-France**—Radical-Socialist, pro-government, was youngest member of the Chamber when elected in 1932, is only 30 now.

**M. Jacques Duclos**—Communist, Vice-President of the Chamber.

**The President, M. Edouard Herriot**—Radical-Socialist, twice premier, and many times minister.

**The Minister of Finance**—M. Vincent Auriol, Socialist.

**M. Paul Reynaud**—Moderate Independent, former Minister of Finance and of the Colonies, has for two years favored devaluation.

**The Rapporteur-Général:** In reality what the currency of a country represents is the aggregate wealth of the nation. As old La Fontaine said in his fable of the Plowman and his Children, it is not any treasure hidden in the ground that makes the riches of a country but the labor of the peasant. It is because the working popula-

tion creates a special living standard every day for a whole nation that it is possible at any given moment to compute the value of the currency on the basis of the total resources of the country. The currency is thus the reflection of the country's fortune.

**M. Pierre Colomb:** This franc which has withstood so many trials, which has survived the Empire and its disasters—two revolutions, the defeat of 1871, the economic crisis of the nineteenth century—has not been able to stand up under a socialist administration. It has not been able to survive the systematic increase of public expenditures and the loss of confidence by capital resulting from social disorder (Applause on the benches of the center and of the right). It has not been able to withstand the occupation of factories and farms (Applause on the same benches), nor the menacing speeches of MM. Paul Faure [Socialist minister without portfolio] and Pivert and Zyromski [Socialist leaders] (Applause as before). It has not been able to withstand even the denials of M. Salengro [Socialist minister of the Interior] (Applause and laughter on same benches).

**M. Louis Marin:** What we have before us is not so much the devaluation of your party as its bankruptcy (Applause on the right and center benches, interruptions on the left).

**The President:** The Minister of Finance has the floor.

**The Minister of Finance:** I shall make the same answer to M. Marin as to M. Colomb. Our colleague holds it against us that we have sprung the situation upon you without preparing you for

it. I shall remind you of a precedent which M. Louis Marin has particular reasons for not forgetting. When we discussed the stabilization of the franc in 1928, M. Poincaré had M. Marin by his side. The debate began at 9 in the morning, upon a report passed round that very morning. And M. Poincaré pressed us to finish the discussion that same day, owing to the urgent nature of the question.

**The President:** M. Louis Marin has the floor.

**M. Louis Marin:** The question was not at all the same, you may well believe me (Exclamations and laughter on the extreme left; applause on the right). Let me tell you, you who laugh, that there is nothing like being completely ignorant for a hearty laugh (Applause on the right, exclamations on the left). At the time of M. Poincaré the condition of France was not what it is at present. The atmosphere required by M. Paul Reynaud for undertaking devaluation existed then; it does not exist today. France had no unemployed; her economy seemed prosperous; she was able to bear the burden. There is another difference—M. Colomb has alluded to it—France enjoyed internal peace. Her budget was balanced—and that is a matter of capital importance—while today you would hesitate to talk about equilibrium even with the profit you are going to get from theft and swindle. (Loud applause on the right and center. Interruptions on the extreme left.)

**The President:** These words, I am sure, exceed your meaning, M. Marin.

**Several members on the right:** No, no.

**The President:** I am speaking to M. Marin.

**M. Louis Marin:** There is still another considerable difference, of which M. Herriot is just reminding me. At that time, M. Poincaré had gathered round him the confidence of all France (Applause on the right and center). Can one truly claim that the Government which is on these benches has the confidence of all France? (Interruptions on the extreme left.)

**M. Georges Bonnet:** In truth—I have often said it in this Chamber—devaluation is not a policy; it is the condition precedent to a policy whose main lines I have often traced. I mean that it presupposes a balanced budget; it presupposes at the very least that the Government and the Parliament which upholds it is working for a balanced budget. Now, gentlemen, the experiment of this Government—which, I hope, is finished; that is the one problem with which we are confronted; for if the Government regards its first experiment as ended, we may take heart—one of the characteristics, I say, of this first experiment was an utter contempt for a balanced budget. That balance seems to you to be a business of bookkeepers, a prejudice of the past, which had no roots in anything unless it were in a narrow idea which, by preventing the generous distribution of the public funds, diminished the purchas-

ing power of the mass of citizens and thus aggravated the depression. . . . If you want devaluation to succeed you will have to erect a tombstone on your policies of yesterday; you will have to change the atmosphere which for four months has prevailed over the country.

**M. Mendès-France:** To listen to certain orators, to read certain articles, one would think that the devaluation measure, which everybody today recognizes as inevitable, was something that resulted from the policies pursued these four months, from the policies of the Front Populaire. At this moment when we are about to sanction the step by our votes, it is our duty not to let such an assertion pass unchallenged. Before the Front Populaire we had, as a matter of fact, had the deflation period. We can not overlook today the posture in which the deflation policy left France.

**M. Jacques Duclos:** Our warnings have gone unheeded; and it is because we did not strike at the big fortunes, as we Communists demanded, that we are now driven to seek a solution in manipulating the currency. This operation—you gentlemen of the right would like to have it carried out without any sort of counterbalancing provision (Interruptions on the right benches). The truth is that on your side of this assembly you have worked for and desire devaluation. Your chief quarrel with the Government is that it wishes to carry out the operation in such a way as to obviate the inhuman and cruel consequences which are sought in big capitalist quarters (Applause on the extreme left). Your tactics are deceiving nobody. It is rather surprising to see M. Louis Marin attack the Government and play the defender of the franc, when everybody knows that he is the president of the Republican Federation, and that at Nice, on April 12, 1934, at the convention of his party, M. de Wendel [the well-known munitions manufacturer and until recently regent of the Bank of France] came out in favor of deflation, and, as it were, laid down the general lines of policy which M. Laval was to pursue. And, not satisfied with mere deflation, he recommended devaluation (Applause on the Communist benches).

**M. Louis Marin:** Will you permit me to answer you?

**M. Jacques Duclos:** In a moment (Protests on the right).

**The President:** M. Louis Marin's name has been involved, and he has an unquestionable right to reply. M. Duclos will, I think, permit him to interrupt him.

**M. Jacques Duclos:** Gladly.

**The President:** M. Marin, with the speaker's permission, has the floor.

**M. Louis Marin:** If I alone had been dragged in, I should not have replied. But my friend M. de Wendel's name has been mentioned, and I only wish to point out, now that a second devaluation is about to be effected, that I saw him stand up at

this rostrum all alone at the time M. Poincaré was going to devalue the franc and, as a regent of the Bank of France, oppose the measure with great courage and great intelligence. On that day I conceived for him the highest esteem. He acted against his own interests and against those of his class. He set at that moment a great example of patriotism. . . . I reply to our colleague M. Duclos that if it were not he it was his colleague M. Berlioz who said that it was the representatives of the two hundred families who wanted devaluation. We are going to see about that when we get down to a vote. We shall see what parties give it their blessing (Applause and laughter on the right, interruptions on the extreme left). And what interests me most—for there is no law against having a bit of fun in this house—is to see how M. Duclos and his Communist colleagues, who have so ably demonstrated the dangers of devaluation and so often announced that they will never vote for it, are going to explain how they changed their doctrines with the same ease as the Government. (Applause on the right.)

**The President:** The incident is closed.

**M. Jacques Duclos:** There are certain parties and certain men who, I must say, have no right to stand up against devaluation. They are those who represented deflation as a great scheme of economic salvation.

**The Minister of Finance** (addressing M. Paul Reynaud): You have said that since the present Government has been in office retail prices have

risen faster than wholesale prices. Excuse me if I contradict you. I have before me the monthly statistics on wholesale prices. I suppose they are the same as yours (Smiles):

General index: June, 372; July, 388; August, 395.

Wholesale-price increase June to August, 23 points.

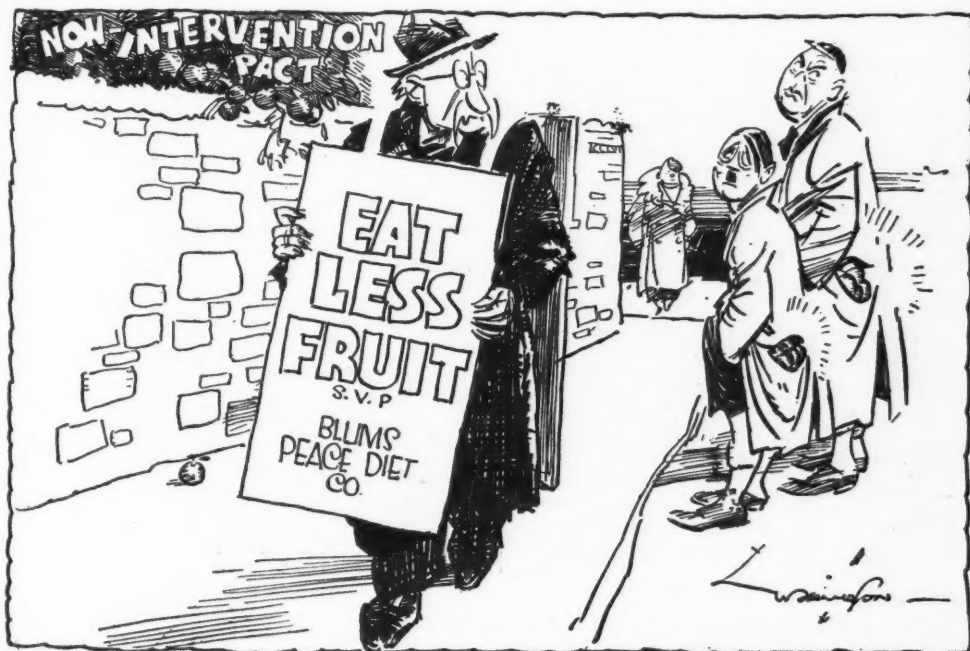
Retail prices in Paris: average index (34 articles): June, 461; July, 461; August, 477.

Difference between June and August: 16 points.

From September 1935 to May 1936—eight months—a rise of 40 points—that is about 10%. From June to August 1936, on the other hand, despite social legislation and strikes, rise of 16 points, that is 3.4%. Your higher figures are due to the error of including the month of May when the present Government was not yet in existence.

**M. Paul Reynaud:** The difference comes from the fact that I included the month of May. I did so because I consider M. Blum to have been during that month the Dauphin of France.

**The Minister of Finance:** There, gentlemen, is a witty interpretation of statistics. But you will have formed your own judgment. You have talked about the execution of the social laws. Yet they had hardly gone into effect in July. But I am as generous as you are in my consideration of prices, for I have included the months of June and July. The fact is that the rise in wholesale prices was greater than that of retail prices.



FORBIDDEN FRUIT

Glasgow Evening Times

**The Premier:** In his noteworthy speech M. Schuman told you: "You are debating, but in reality you are face to face with an accomplished fact." That is to a very great extent true. It is thus, and it is well-nigh inevitably thus, every time operations such as we are at this moment submitting to the French chambers are involved. No government, whatever may be its character, can do otherwise than to guard the secret jealously until such time as its decision may be made public. Once the matter is known it is already in force, as a result of the very fact that it is known. The moment a government talks of monetary alignment that alignment is a fact, almost irrevocably. That is inevitable; and no government, however respectful it might be toward the prerogatives and the sovereignty of parliament, could have acted other than we have acted. It would be very easy today for this sovereign chamber to overthrow us, for instance, if it found our explanations insufficient. But it would be very difficult for it, almost impossible, to undo what has been done.

\* \* \*

### Questions on India

In answer to my question: "On the analogy of Ireland for the Irish, do you believe in India for the Indians and Ceylon for the Ceylonese?", he [George Bernard Shaw] said:

"You must not ask me whether 'I believe' in this or that. I recognize the existence of an emotion in men called nationalism which makes them dissatisfied unless they think they are governed by themselves and not by foreigners. They can think of nothing else until this instinct is satisfied, just as a wounded man can think of nothing but his wounds until he is well.



Daily Herald, London

### ITS SPIRITUAL HOME

"Welcome, Golden Calf—we bin expectin' you here long fellow time!"

"The oldest men in India are forced to waste their time and energy on demand for self-government, which should be achieved at once and at any cost, to set them free for real service for their country."\*\*\*

On the question of how self-government was to be obtained for India, Mr. Shaw was outspoken. One suspected, though, that there might have been a twinkle in his eye as he outlined his prescription for Indian Home Rule.

"There is no question," he said, "of 'granting' self-government. England cannot grant the separation of India. The Indians must take it. They must create a situation in which only by setting an English soldier with a rifle to stand over every Indian, which is numerically impossible, could British rule be maintained."

The subject of Empire Trade Preference then came up. I asked him whether an Indian could be expected to pay more for his clothes, for instance, just to help Empire cotton interests. . . .

"Why not?" he ejaculated. "If he won't make his own clothes, damn him!"

—An interview in the *Egyptian Gazette*, Cairo, August 25, 1936.

For more than fifty years the Indian National Congress has labored for the freedom of India, and ever, as its strength grew and it came to represent more and more the nationalist urge of the Indian people and their desire to put an end to exploitation by British Imperialism, it came into conflict with the ruling power. During recent years the Congress has led great movements for national freedom and has sought to develop sanctions whereby such freedom can be achieved by peaceful mass action and the disciplined sacrifice and suffering of the Indian people. To the lead of the Congress the Indian people have responded in abundant measure and thus confirmed their inherent right to freedom. That struggle for freedom still continues and must continue till India is free and independent.

These years have seen the development of an economic crisis in India and the world which has led to a progressive deterioration in the condition of all classes of our people. The poverty stricken masses are today in the grip of an even more abject poverty and destitution, and this growing disease urgently and insistently demands a radical remedy. Poverty and unemployment have long been the lot of our peasantry and industrial workers; today they cover and crush other classes also—the artisan, the trader, the small merchant, the middle class intelligentsia. For the vast millions of our countrymen the problem of achieving national independence has become an urgent one, for only independence can give us the power to solve our economic and social problems and end the exploitation of our masses.

The growth of the national movement and the economic crisis has resulted in the intense repres-



sion of the Indian people and the suppression of civil liberties, and the British Govt. has sought to strengthen the imperialist bonds that envelop India and to perpetuate the domination and exploitation of the Indian people by enacting the Government of India Act of 1935.

In the international sphere crisis follows crisis in an ever deepening degree and world war hangs over the horizon. The Lucknow Congress called the attention of the nation to this grave situation in India and the world, and declared its opposition to the participation of India in an imperialist war and its firm resolve to continue the struggle for the independence of India.

The Congress rejected in its entirety the constitution imposed upon India by the New Act and declared that no constitution imposed by outside authority and no constitution which curtails the sovereignty of the people of India, and does not recognise their right to shape and control fully their political and economic future, can be accepted. Such a constitution, in its opinion, must be based on the independence of India as a nation and it can only be framed by a Constituent Assembly.

—From the All India Congress Election manifesto.

✱ ✱ ✱

### "Brown Sisters"

As reported from National-Socialist sources, there took place [in Germany] the consecration of the first Brown Sisterhood of Mercy. The reasons for the new muster were there and then given: first, there has been a steady retrogression in the number of Confessional (Catholic) sisterhoods; second, the need to prevent sisters from rendering service in connection with certain kinds of operations—sterilization, for instance. The more essential reason, however, was revealed in the admission that "the future is fraught with such problems as only those who behave in conformity with the Nazi *Weltanschauung* [world outlook] could cope with."

Asked whether it was permissible [for Brown Sisters] to believe in God, the Reich's Women's Leader suggested, in the first place, to abide by the terms of the oath; and in the second place, that a distinction should be made between undefined fear of God and those formulae, doctrines, and dogmas which people permit themselves to conjure up concerning God. . . .

—*Neue Freie Presse*, Vienna, October 6, 1936.

✱ ✱ ✱

### Germany's Morale

The barrage of words against Soviet Russia has not raised Germany's morale by an iota; it remains very low, and the disappointment in the [labor] management as regards any prospect of wage increase is very great.\*\*\*

The question how nearly two thirds of the Reich's working families can get along on an



NEA Service

### TO AVOID THE TIGHTENING OF BELTS

average of 27.80 Marks (about \$11.20) a week is answered very simply: *they starve*.\*\*\*

How very nearly the living standard is approaching that of the famine years of the World War may also be judged from this: During the war, many furloughed proletarian soldiers, escaping the hellish front for a period of from eight to fourteen days, were obliged to work during their furloughs in the war industries, so that they could buy nourishment for their starving children. It is the same today, when many workers find themselves obliged to spend their short annual vacations, not in recreation, but in search of employment outside their own field, to augment their low insufficient wage\*\*\*

The Nuremberg speeches were unable to conceal the fact that millions of German workers are placed on hunger rations. This fact is not altered by the unfoldment of military power, and the new four-year plan is likely to render the worker's menu still more proletarian. . . .

—*National Zeitung*, Basle, Switzerland, September 28, 1936.

✱ ✱ ✱

### Notes on Radek

For me [Karl] Radek is the man who invited me on a visit to an enviable apartment at the top of a sort of skyscraper with a view on the Kremlin and said to me when we got on his terrace-roof, "Is there any country in the world where a journalist is so well treated?"

He is also the man whose chauffeur drove me through the streets of Moscow at 80 miles per hour while the vile people scattered [as the car sped on]. When Stalin decided to launch a "plot



Glasgow Record

### THE SPANISH CHAMPIONSHIP

against Stalin's life", when Zinoviev, Kamenev and others were put up for judgment, their intimate friend Radek, in anxiety, published an article in *Izvestia* of extraordinary violence against "these cowards that deserved death."

Stalin, with a laugh, congratulated the good Radek who thought he had pulled his chestnuts out of the fire. Alas! He is now under arrest too. . . . But let's not be surprised at anything. . . .

—Anonymous writer in *Emancipation Nationale*, Paris, October 10, 1936.

\* \* \*

### Thorez Speaks Out

Of course we are one with the workers, with the democrats who, under the leadership of the legal Government [of Spain], are resisting the fascist rebels, agents of Hitler and Mussolini. Yet it is true that, from the very beginning, we Communists have declared that it is not merely a question of sympathy and solidarity towards the Spanish people, but one where the interests of our country are at stake, the very future of our people. Nobody, then, amongst us, except traitors in the pay of Hitler, can deny the threat of encirclement of France, the aim pursued by the dictator of Berlin through the agencies of the Francos and the Molas. \* \* \*

To explain the aims of Hitler I propose to read some extracts from the book which our central committee has chosen for study in all party schools: *Mein Kampf*, written by Hitler. He writes: "It must be clearly realized that the moral and inexorable enemy of the German people is, and continues to be, France." \* \* \* Hitler goes on to declare that in our country "the invasion by the Negroes is making such rapid progress that one can speak of the birth of an African State on European soil."

I wish to repeat what I have already declared \* \* \* in this very hall just after the coup of March 7: "We far prefer the honest Negro to a

Hitler, who dishonors humanity." Is it in the name of the white races that Hitler advises Franco to bring over to Europe our Arab and Moroccan brothers to fight the Spaniards on their own soil?

The same hypocrisy is revealed when, under the pretext of defending the Catholic religion, the Spanish rebels arm their Mohammedan soldiers against the Basque Catholics, who are fighting by the side of Democrats, Socialists, and Communists for the defense of the Spanish Republic. \* \* \*

—From a speech by Maurice Thorez, General Secretary of the French Communist Party, reprinted and widely distributed throughout France.

**Regarding German protests** against the alleged insults inflicted on Mr. Hitler by French Communists, it is pointed out that Mr. Maxim Litvinov's presence in Paris adds a new element of mystery to the incident.

Mr. Litvinov came directly to Paris at the close of the League's session instead of going back directly to Moscow. The reason for this has not been disclosed, but it is believed in certain circles to be due to the Hitler-French Communist incidents.

*Humanité*, organ of the French Communists does not even mention Mr. Litvinov's presence in Paris.

*Figaro* [extreme Right] says: "Everybody knows that for the last few months the [Soviet] Comintern has been trying to awaken a belligerent spirit in the French Communists in the hope of precipitating a conflict between France and Germany."

—*Courrier des Etats Unis*, New York, October 17, 1936.



St. Louis Post-Dispatch

ON THE OTHER HAND—

The plan of the [French] Communists is only too evident. They want to use the Popular Front to get rid of the forces hostile to their policies. Through the Popular Front, their plan is to destroy all centers of resistance. They demand heads and the imprisonment of the chiefs of all (French) nationalist parties, dissolution of these parties, purification of the police, army and administration.

So they try to clear the road of all obstacles that prevent them from getting into power. . . .

It is only necessary to unmask their political and financial dealings with Moscow for the French nation to understand that it is being maneuvered by Moscow.

—J. Doriot, head of Parti Populaire Français, in *Emancipation Nationale*, Paris, October 10, 1936.



**THE BARBER OF SEVILLE**  
 "People's Front or Nationalist, sir?"

### Ciano's Promotion

The Italian Foreign Minister, Count Ciano, is slated for the office of Prime Minister, and the Fascist High Council that is to convene on November 18th will have the matter on its agenda.

This, however, will result in no noteworthy change in the Constitution itself. As is well known, Mussolini is the Leader of Fascism, and as such is, ipso facto, President of the Fascist Supreme Council, the head of the Government and *Primo Ministro*.

Even after bestowing the post of President upon his 33-year-old son-in-law, he still retains the prerogative which inheres in his position as head of the Government and Leader of Fascism, constituting him *The Nation*.

Count Ciano, whom Mussolini will have thus elevated to the highest rank ever achieved under Fascism, will retain his portfolio of Foreign Minister.

—*Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, Hamburg, Germany, October 8.

## VOROSHILOV: A New Dictator?

TO THOSE who are fond of drawing historical parallels, the [Moscow] process and shooting of the Sixteen [Bolshevik leaders] furnishes abundant food. The Russian Revolution has produced its own Dantons, its own Desmoulins and Heberts. Comparisons, as they say, are very suggestive, and from them one easily goes over to predictions. If, as it is alleged, the Russian Revolution reproduces with such regularity the stages of the French Revolution, why will it not continue doing so in the future? The Terror, then, must be followed by the Thermidor [moderate stage], the Thermidor by a Directory \* \* \*, the Directory by a Consulate, and from there—only a straight road to a Bonaparte.

In these days, such a one [a Bonaparte] may not actually be crowned Emperor, but, ideologically, our times have fully equipped him for it, and have even furnished him with models. \* \* \* Potentially, Napoleon does exist, and it is only necessary to name him. \* \* \*

Here the opinions are divided. There are those who incline to think that Stalin will soon declare himself the official dictator of Russia, meaning that he will simply make formal the position he is already occupying. Others, on the other hand, believe that Stalin has already finished his part, and that, if he will not actually turn Robespierre and suffer the latter's fate, he will be relegated to the position of some lifeless ikon \* \* \* and placed, perhaps, in the Red Square alongside of Lenin. These people think that Voroshilov [Soviet Defense Commissar] will be the real dictator.

Klementy Yefimovitch Voroshilov was born to a worker's family on January 23, 1881, in the village Verkhni, District of Yekaterinoslav [Ukraine]. His descent was unquestionably proletarian, his father then being employed as a railway watchman \* \* \* while his mother hired out for such housework as she could get from day to day. \* \* \*

Until the age of 12, the future Soviet Generalissimo remained absolutely illiterate, having begun to work virtually at seven, for ten kopeks per day. \* \* \* Periodically, too, he assisted in pasturing the village herd, and now and then he even went begging with his little sister.

At the age of 12 he entered an agrarian lower school \* \* \*, the only school the present candidate for dictator ever finished. In 1896 he joined the workers of a metallurgical plant \* \* \* and almost at once threw himself headlong, first into the professional, and then into the political, struggle. \* \* \* Towards the end of 1903, young Klim joined the Social-Democratic party.

In 1905 [during the abortive revolution], "Volodjka," as his comrades nicknamed him, found himself in the very thick of events, at Lugansk. But it was not in debating at meetings that he was chiefly interested; he was more interested in organizing fighting units among the workers of the Hartman Works where he himself was employed. He was soon elected President of the Soviet of Workers Deputies, a post which the factory management recognized—but the police did not, and they arrested him instead.

It was then that the memorable disorders in front of the jail and in the factory took place, accompanied by a threat to raze it, unless the "president" were freed. \* \* \* Indeed, they let "Volodjka" go. But he did not remain much longer in Lugansk. He had shown his mettle by that time, and events soon summoned him to the "Center." In February, 1916, he left for St. Petersburg, and from there to Finland and Stockholm, for the Party Convention.

There is an *official* biography to every Bolshevik leader. We have no special grounds to doubt the recorded facts and dates as such, but we know very well how such documents are written in Soviet Russia. \* \* \* The Bolsheviks do not print a single line without a definite tendency. And so, when we take this into consideration, it transpires that his [Voroshilov's] revolutionism was of an entirely different character than that of Lenin and Trotsky, and even of Stalin himself.

Lenin was the fanatic of his idea, its Apostle and Lawgiver, the Buddha of Bolshevism, as it were, for whom Russia served merely as an experimental field. Trotsky was a typical international revolutionary phrasemonger, who carried his effective philippics to the immigrant conferences, \* \* \* who at the very outset of his revolutionary activity took flight abroad, engaging here



in polemizing his enemies and intriguing them. Stalin was nearer Voroshilov's mood than either, but even he was too much eaten up by the poison of his own fanaticism. There was in his [Stalin's] senseless courage something that spelled fanatical renunciation of life and of all its bliss, \* \* \* whereas Voroshilov loved life passionately in all its manifestations. This pug-nosed reckless "Volodjka" resembled very little the morose conspirator who is preoccupied either with manufacturing bombs or with writing challenges to political enemies. He loved wine and women, and when drunk, he loved to hop furiously. \* \* \*

The years preceding the war he spent partly in the Caucasus \* \* \* and partly in confinement. The war found him working in an armor plant, at Tzaritsin. In the Spring of 1915 he left for St. Petersburg and joined the workers of the Surgailo factory. \* \* \* When the Revolution began, Voroshilov \* \* \* left St. Petersburg for his former city, Lugansk, where he first assumed the post of President of the Soviet of Workers Deputies, and afterwards that of Mayor. He returned to St. Petersburg in the fall, after the Bolshevik revolution had already taken place. Here he worked for some time in Dzerzhinski's Cheka. \* \* \* Again he returned to Lugansk where he

organized militia bands against the Germans. From this moment on there opened up before him the military career which subsequently elevated him to the post of chief of all the armed forces of the former Russian Empire.

The subsequent stages of this career are well known. First, there was the Civil War in which Voroshilov participated from beginning to end, and it is very possible that here is where the real present-day Voroshilov was born. \* \* \*

We shall not form hasty conclusions and idealize that which does not lend itself to idealization. However the case may be, the "nationalism" of Voroshilov \* \* \* may only impress us by comparison with the wild internationalism of his co-workers. After clamoring so much for a world revolution in the name of the happiness of the "world proletariat," the very word "motherland" [which Voroshilov invariably employs] sounds like an unheard of blessing. \* \* \* So we predict nothing and we idealize no one. But Voroshilov's name has been closely bound up with the history of our motherland during the past several years, and who knows how long and in what role he will directly affect her future destiny?

—*Novoye Russkoye Slovo*, New York City. Russian-language newspaper, November 1.

## AN INTERVIEW WITH BENES

**P**RESIDENT [Eduard] Benes [of Czechoslovakia], in an interview with the dean of Holland's Journalists, Dr. E. Van Raalte, published in the Holland newspapers, answered the correspondent's questions [as follows]:

**Q. "How do you, Mr. President, view the present international situation?"**

A. "I believe that every statesman today knows what dire tragic consequences any kind of international conflict is bound to lead to. This alone gives me hope that Europe will avoid war and will succeed in solving the present-day international difficulties. Opportunely enough, the problem of the money-standard is now coming to the forefront, which is a very pressing problem, destined to engage the mind of responsible world-leaders for a long time to come. \* \* \* I believe that the issue involved will establish the basis for an enduring economic and political peace."

**Q. "What, Mr. President, is your attitude towards Germany's return to the League of Nations?"**

A. "There can be no doubting the fact that Germany's resignation from the League threw formidable obstacles in the path of international developments. I believe, though, that when, in connection with the new Locarno pact, the question of regulating the money-standard will be brought up, a mutual basis and a more favorable atmosphere for cooperation will result therefrom."

**Q. "How does Czechoslovakia stand on the question of regional pacts?"**

A. "In the regional pact idea Czechoslovakia always saw a most effective means of maintaining world peace, supplementary to the policy of the League of Nations itself. Is not the Little Entente, whose existence dates back to 1920, the best proof that the conception is a sound one? Similarly, the Balkan Entente, the Baltic Entente, and the Locarno Pact are proofs of the rightness of this thesis."

"Today, too, I see in the Regional Pact idea a unified means of preserving peace, and a contribution to the solution of the League of Nations' crisis."

**Q. "What is Czechoslovakia's relationship with the USSR?"**

A. "Please do not view it as something extraordinary or sensational. It is but the normal relationship of one state concluding a mutual assistance pact with another state with a view to preserving the peace of middle and eastern Europe. The Pact is part and parcel of the system of collective security underlying the policy of the League of Nations itself, and is linked with the Franco-Russian Mutual Assistance Pact."

"Europe's public opinion should not be misled by the false rumors that are circulated about this contract. The Czecho-Russian reciprocal agreement is an exclusively defensive treaty, aiming against no other State."

—The foregoing interview was published in Holland newspapers and later in the *Prager Presse*, semi-official Czechoslovakian organ, from which this translation was made.

# CHRONOLOGY

## Highlights of Current History, Oct. 10—Nov. 10

### DOMESTIC

- OCTOBER 10—Four Black Legion "terrorists" sentenced; jail terms from ten to twenty years.
- OCTOBER 11—Charles H. Herty, of Savannah, reports fat, containing properties as animal flesh, taken from Southern pine trees.  
\$24,000,000 fund allotted for Atlantic Coast waterway improvements during 1937.
- OCTOBER 12—Supreme Court refuses rehearing of the New York State Minimum Wage Law for women; grants review of Washington State Minimum Wage Law, sustained by the State Supreme Court.
- Harry L. Hopkins, WPA Administrator, reports total expenditures \$1,772,756,795 up to September 1.
- OCTOBER 14—Governor Landon at Grand Rapids declares Roosevelt Administration has retarded recovery.  
West Coast maritime labor leaders ask members' authority for coast-wide shipping strike October 28.
- OCTOBER 15—Local maritime unions reject proposal for strike vote proposed by representatives of waterfront unions; Federal Maritime Commission granted "absolute and unrestricted cooperation."
- American Federation of Labor moves to split C. I. O. under John L. Lewis.
- Navy Department announces development of protective mask against silicosis.
- OCTOBER 16—Federal Judge John J. Gore at Nashville upholds suit of nineteen electric power companies against TVA.
- OCTOBER 17—Vice President John N. Garner at Uvalde, Texas, denies President Roosevelt is communist; says Administration represents "highest type American conservatism."
- OCTOBER 18—Republican National Committee demands re-broadcast of Senator Vandenberg's phonograph "debate"; Columbia Broadcasting Company rebates charges; prohibits recorded transcriptions.
- OCTOBER 19—Governor Landon at Albuquerque, New Mexico, pledges Republican Party to restoration of foreign markets.
- United States Supreme Court refuses to review J. Edward Jones case challenging constitutionality of the Social Security Act of 1933.
- OCTOBER 20—Terre Haute, Indiana, citizens prevent Earl Browder, Communist Presidential candidate, from giving scheduled radio speech.
- John W. Davis, Democratic candidate for Presidency in 1924, supports Landon.
- Governor Landon at Los Angeles charges President Roosevelt and members of Administration with unsuccessful attempts to discredit Supreme Court; warns re-election would be endorsement of planned economy and abandonment of the free American system; solicits support of Townsendites.
- OCTOBER 21—President Roosevelt at Worcester, Massachusetts, pictures tax program as weapon to preserve America's democracy; charges opponents seek power to reduce taxes on wealth.
- OCTOBER 22—James Couzens, United States Senator from Michigan, dies.  
Governor Landon charges President Roosevelt uses "the people's money directly and indirectly to secure his re-election."
- W. Lloyd Aycock of Harvard Medical School reports internal gland defense against infantile paralysis.
- OCTOBER 23—President Roosevelt broadcasts speech affirming allegiance to capitalistic system.  
Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr., promises balanced budget through increased government income.
- Governor Landon, campaigning in Oklahoma, defends administration of Kansas schools.
- Denver Zephyr travels 1,017 miles from Chicago to Denver in 12 hours and 12½ minutes for new record.
- Joseph V. McKee, former Acting Mayor of New York, appointed national "coordinator" of music-publishing business.
- OCTOBER 24—Alfred E. Smith, 1928 Democratic Presidential candidate, attacks New Deal in speech at Pittsburgh.
- Governor Landon, at Indianapolis, outlines foreign policy: "We must mind our own business."
- OCTOBER 25—Constable and fifteen thugs disrupt address of Earl Browder, Communist Presidential candidate, at Tampa, Florida; twelve persons injured.
- Social Security Board denounces coercion of workers through misleading propaganda.
- OCTOBER 26—American Newspaper Guild upheld as exclusive collective bargaining agency for editorial employees of Associated Press by National Labor Relations Board.
- OCTOBER 28—Maritime strike called on Pacific Coast; shipowners notify unions further negotiations would be useless; seven ships reported delayed.
- OCTOBER 29—Governor Landon, at Madison Square Garden, New York, demands Roosevelt state aims; charges President avoids real issues in campaign.
- Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York charges Governor Landon with attempting to wreck social security structure.
- John L. Lewis, C. I. O. chairman, refuses to speed action on A. F. of L. peace proposals.
- Negotiations between maritime unions and shipowners deadlocked; unions demand preferential union hiring, cash for overtime, eight-hour day for cooks, stewards, and officers.

OCTOBER 30—Seven unions strike with 39,000 maritime workers; tie up 100 ships in Pacific ports; stoppage estimated 500,000 tons daily. Atlantic Coast maritime strike threatened.

Governor Landon, at Charleston, W. Va., charges Roosevelt Administration with "waste and extravagance."

President Roosevelt, in Brooklyn, New York, declares intention to press national unity in next four years.

OCTOBER 31—President Roosevelt, at Madison Square Garden, New York, pledges to continue fight for New Deal aims; hits "organized money" foes.

"Rank-and-file" maritime strike holds eighteen vessels in Port of New York; 2,100 deckhands, stewards, and engine-room hands in walk-out.

Strike spreads to all American flag ships in Atlantic and Gulf ports.

Pacific Coast maritime strike extends to overland railroads refusing cargo for Western ports.

Alaskan food shortage threatened.

NOVEMBER 1—West Coast maritime strike affects seventy-seven American flag ships; Federal-owned Alaska Railroad prepares for shutdown.

Maritime strike negotiations deadlocked; ship-owners may seek naval aid.

NOVEMBER 2—Pacific Coast maritime unions extend blockade order to all U. S. ports.

David Grange, third vice president of the International Seamen's Union, affiliate of A. F. of L., repudiates strike; charges Seamen's Defense Committee with communist activity.

Reverend Gerald L. K. Smith, self-styled "rabble-rouser", arrested in New Orleans; charged with disturbing the peace.

NOVEMBER 3—Franklin D. Roosevelt re-elected President in Democratic landslide, losing only Maine and Vermont; electoral vote, 523 for Roosevelt, 8 for Alfred M. Landon. Popular vote (early count), Roosevelt 26,484,229; Landon, 17,469,771. Democrats gain four seats in Senate, fourteen seats in House; elect twenty-six Governors. Republicans lose 8 seats in Senate, sixteen seats in House; elect five Governors.

NOVEMBER 4—John M. Franklin, president International Mercantile Marine Company, charges

"reign of terror" in maritime strikes; asks authorities to intervene.

Wall Street hails stock rise as symptom of recovery.

Governor Landon resumes duties as Kansas Governor; President Roosevelt deluged with congratulations.

NOVEMBER 5—Maritime strike on Pacific Coast defies efforts for peace.

NOVEMBER 6—President Roosevelt broadcasts appeal to nation to share "increasing prosperity" with needy; asks support of 1936 Mobilization for Human Needs.

Steel employers announce wage increase averaging 10% for 450,000 employees.

Federal Grand Jury returns indictment charging twenty major oil companies, four subsidiaries, and forty-six individuals with violating Sherman Anti-Trust Act in gasoline business in ten Midwestern States.

NOVEMBER 7—Father Charles E. Coughlin, Union Party sponsor, announces withdrawal from radio "in best interests of all the people", as result of party's repudiation at polls.

Maritime strike delays sailing of delegation to Pan American Peace Conference.

President Roosevelt over international hook-up calls for peace; expresses hope Buenos Aires parley will set example to "war-weary" peoples.

NOVEMBER 8—United States Federal Reserve Board reports business highest since 1930.

Ship strike remains at impasse.

NOVEMBER 9—District of Columbia Court of Appeals upholds right of National Labor Relations Board to hold elections among employees.

Federal Labor Board certifies union for collective bargaining at R. C. A. Camden plant; rejects company union.

President Roosevelt announces Federal Government will supplement efforts of States in making labor standards effective "in cases involving interstate trade."

General Motors Corporation increases hourly wage five cents; promises ten million dollar Christmas bonus.

William Green charges John L. Lewis' refusal to discuss issues dividing A. F. of L. and C. I. O. is deliberate attempt to set up rival union.

## INTERNATIONAL

OCTOBER 11—Russian press stands behind ultimatum on intervention.

OCTOBER 12—United States, Great Britain, and France enter agreement for purchase and sale of gold to reduce fluctuations of currencies.

Germany objects to Anglo-Soviet naval treaty, which permits Russia to catch up with modern navies of other powers and gives her free hand in Far East.

OCTOBER 13—German Colonial League, intended to speak for Nazi drive for colonies, dissolved.

Russia offers new method to prevent intervention in Spain; if not accepted she will openly aid Madrid.

OCTOBER 14—Belgium rejects alliances, returns to neutrality.

Russia demands blockade of Portugal; her request for meeting of London Committee refused.

OCTOBER 15—France queries Belgium concerning her attitude on military pacts, Locarno, and League of Nations; Geneva sees return to 1914 situation.

Chairman of non-intervention committee refuses to call meeting, holding that Portugal has not supplied information regarding Russian charges.

OCTOBER 16—Germany hails Belgian neutrality move as breach in French system.

Soviet officials deny that armed aid to Madrid is contemplated.

OCTOBER 17—French officials fear that Belgian

- reassurances regarding military aid only good until meeting of Locarno powers.  
 Russia deplores break-up of French system; threatens to quit non-intervention committee.
- OCTOBER 19—Italy approves agenda for Locarno conference, indicating willingness to drop isolation policy.
- OCTOBER 20—Spain charges Italy with landing tanks and flamethrowers at Cadiz, Germany with landing war materials at Algeciras; Russia expected to heed Madrid's appeal for help.
- OCTOBER 21—Italo-German pact expected; agreement reached as to western security, reorganization of League, and Spain; differences remain over anti-communist front.
- OCTOBER 23—Russia announces that she cannot feel bound by non-intervention pact.  
 League of Nations Armaments Year Book shows world expenditures on arms of \$9,295,000,000 in 1935, as compared with \$7,436,000,000 in 1934.  
 Portugal severs diplomatic relations with Madrid.
- OCTOBER 24—Mussolini offers world "olive branch" on "forest of 8,000,000 bayonets."  
 British note cites four cases of intervention; three charged to Russia, one to Italy.

- OCTOBER 25—German-Italian agreement includes: cooperation in Danube Basin; anti-bolshevist front; agreement to respect Spain's territorial and colonial integrity.
- OCTOBER 26—Belgium considers building forts on French as well as German border.  
 Italy insists that German tie does not preclude four-power pact; seeks British friendship.  
 England rebukes Spanish Government for not exchanging hostages.
- OCTOBER 28—Neutrality committee absolves Portugal and Italy of aiding rebels.
- OCTOBER 30—France to fortify Belgian frontier, extending Maginot line to sea.
- NOVEMBER 1—Mussolini bids for English and French friendship; claims Mediterranean rights and demands change in French attitude.
- NOVEMBER 5—Anthony Eden, British Foreign Secretary, announces unwillingness to exclude Russia from any European settlement, warns Mussolini Mediterranean is vital British route.
- NOVEMBER 8—General Franco reputed to have promised Riff autonomy in Spanish Morocco.
- NOVEMBER 10—Sir Samuel Hoare, First Lord of British Admiralty, denies Great Britain is committed to send troops to Europe in case of war.

## SPANISH CIVIL WAR

- OCTOBER 10—Loyalists check rebel advance at San Juan Pass; rebels press attack from North, South and West.
- OCTOBER 11—Rebel forces capture Cebreros; key to Madrid's electric power.
- OCTOBER 17—Madrid cut off by rail from sea; rebels advance to Castillejas from Toledo district.
- OCTOBER 19—Rebels approach Madrid; force loyalists back.  
 Madrid loyalists mobilize "taxicab army."
- OCTOBER 20—Loyalists counter-attack rebel column approaching Madrid from Toledo; heavy losses reported.  
 Rebels capture Escorial, key defense town west of Madrid; advance on Aranjuez, railroad city south of capital.
- OCTOBER 21—Rebels capture Navalcarnero, important loyalist stronghold.
- OCTOBER 22—Loyalist troops repulse rebel advance from Toledo thirteen miles south of Madrid.
- OCTOBER 23—Rebel planes bomb Madrid as loyalists rush all able men to front.
- OCTOBER 25—Loyalists check rebels before Madrid; heavy fighting continues.
- OCTOBER 26—Rebels repulse loyalist counter-attack on Navalcarnero.
- OCTOBER 28—Rebels continue advance on Madrid; Loyalists bomb rebel airport at Seville.
- OCTOBER 29—Loyalists recapture three towns

- south of Madrid; repulsed near Chapineria, twenty-five miles west of Madrid.
- OCTOBER 30—Rebel planes bomb Madrid and suburbs; 135 killed, including women and children; seventy children killed in Getafe by rebel bombs.
- OCTOBER 31—Rebel planes again bomb Getafe; fall of Madrid imminent.
- NOVEMBER 1—Rebels capture Brunete; Getafe ordered evacuated as loyalists plan new offensive.
- NOVEMBER 2—Rebel forces nine miles south of Madrid.  
 Loyalists bomb rebel troop train and airport.
- NOVEMBER 3—Rebels advance on Getafe; capture Mostoles.
- NOVEMBER 4—Rebels capture loyalists' airport at Getafe; center of Madrid in flames.
- NOVEMBER 5—Rebel artillery shells Madrid; two rebel planes shot down over Madrid; loyalists erect street barricades.
- NOVEMBER 6—Heavy fighting in Madrid suburbs; rebels capture Madrid radio station at Campamento; occupy Cuatro Vientos airport.
- NOVEMBER 7—Loyalist cabinet moves from Madrid to Valencia as rebels press capital.
- NOVEMBER 8—Rebels capture bridges leading toward the Royal Palace; hand to hand fighting on outskirts of capital.
- NOVEMBER 9—Rebels bombard Madrid; 80 killed and 400 wounded.



## FOREIGN

**Austria**

- OCTOBER 17—Chancellor Schuschnigg gives guarded encouragement to monarchists.  
 OCTOBER 18—Funds for fighting forces to be raised through sale of stamps.  
 NOVEMBER 3—Cabinet reshuffle strengthens clericals, dismisses last of *Heimwehr* elements, but admits no Pan-Germans.  
 NOVEMBER 5—Industrial militia formed to take place of disbanded private armies.  
 NOVEMBER 10—Restoration issue reported barred in Vienna.

**Belgium**

- OCTOBER 22—Government decides to forbid Rexist demonstrations, declaring state of martial law.  
 OCTOBER 25—Leon Degrelle, leader of Rexist Party, arrested after violent scenes in Brussels.

**Bulgaria**

- OCTOBER 22—King Boris refuses to call upon Gregori Tsankoff, Fascist leader, to form government; Fascist clubs suppressed.

**Canada**

- OCTOBER 21—New defense policy to be national, stressing defense of coasts and enlargement of air force; annual arms budget to be increased from \$20,000,000 to \$50,000,000.  
 OCTOBER 25 — Provisional most-favored-nation agreement signed with Germany, with subsidiary barter arrangement to overcome German exchange restrictions.  
 OCTOBER 26—Premier Aberhart of Alberta appeals to Ottawa for Federal assistance in meeting Alberta bond issue of \$1,250,000 due November 1.

**Danzig**

- OCTOBER 14—Nazis dissolve Socialist Party, thus gaining two-thirds majority of Diet necessary to change constitution of "free city."  
 OCTOBER 17—Poland decides not to take action to halt Nazis, regarding matter as Danzig's own internal affair.  
 OCTOBER 28—Arthur Greiser, Nazi President of Senate, leaves Danzig following Polish warning; negotiations with Poland suspended.  
 NOVEMBER 10—Danzig Nazis reported to have lost support of Germany.

**Ethiopia**

- OCTOBER 19—Thirty Italian bombing and transport planes, carrying 500 troops, avenge killing of 13 Italian aviators by Ethiopians last July.  
 OCTOBER 20—Italians rout Ethiopian force southwest of Addis Ababa, killing 300-400.  
 OCTOBER 23—Ethiopia appeals to League of Nations for help against Italian "war of extermination."

**France**

- OCTOBER 11—Police prevent rightists from breaking up Communist meetings in Alsace-Lorraine.  
 Communist, Socialist, and Radical Socialist leaders reaffirm loyalty to Popular Front.

- OCTOBER 16—Air Minister Pierre Cot announces that airplane factories will be run as government enterprises.  
 OCTOBER 18—Premier Leon Blum tells Radical-Socialists new elections are only alternative to a unified Popular Front; Communists urge Radical-Socialists to support Government.  
 OCTOBER 22—At opening of annual conference, Radical Socialists stand by Popular Front, but warn Government to maintain order, respect private property, and pass satisfactory budget; opposition to Communists manifested.  
 OCTOBER 27—Cabinet and Ministerial Council enact program for 5,000,000 franc expenditure upon air force.  
 OCTOBER 28—Budget to be divided between ordinary and emergency expenditures.  
 OCTOBER 31—Maurice Thorez, Communist leader, launches attack on Government's non-intervention policy.  
 NOVEMBER 4—Edouard Daladier, Defense Minister, urges arming of Belgian and Swiss borders.  
 NOVEMBER 5—Parliament opens with Popular Front in strong position; new strike epidemic threatened.  
 NOVEMBER 8—Speaking before Socialist National Council, Premier Blum assured of complete party support, despite disagreement over non-intervention.

**Germany**

- OCTOBER 12—Rudolph Hess, deputy Nazi party leader, stresses Germany's determination to follow policy of economic isolation; demands colonies.  
 OCTOBER 15—Tension between Catholics and Nazis over education issue increases.  
 OCTOBER 17—Dr. Franz Guertner, Minister of Justice, instructs judges to join police in war upon "food profiteers."  
 German export surplus for September higher than for any month since October 1933; food imports up.  
 OCTOBER 19—Colonel General Hermann Goering placed in supreme charge of four-year plan.  
 OCTOBER 20—Terms of Goering's appointment indicate that he is in effect Vice Chancellor, second only to Hitler.  
 OCTOBER 25—Hans Johst, President of Reich Chamber of Literature, announces that Germans are to be compelled with "loving force" to read only books by National Socialist authors.  
 OCTOBER 29—Rev. Martin Niemoller, leader of Protestants against Nazism, admits Church now entirely in hands of State.  
 OCTOBER 31—Decree rules that all Germans must wear 16% wood fiber in underwear and stockings.  
 NOVEMBER 3—Youth program to train 10,000,000 to 12,000,000 youths between ages of 10 and 18 to form Nazi governing class.  
 NOVEMBER 9—Official wage scale pegged at depression levels.

### Great Britain

OCTOBER 11—Royal Commission on Private Manufacture of Arms to recommend government supervision of arms contracts; firms should be regarded as public utilities but not nationalized.

OCTOBER 15—Sir John Simon, Minister for Home Affairs, and Sir Samuel Hoare, First Lord of Admiralty, promise labor that Fascist excesses will be checked.

OCTOBER 21—England to purchase airplanes from U. S. A.

Premier Stanley Baldwin denies labor request for emergency session of Parliament to discuss non-intervention in Spain.

OCTOBER 22—Air Ministry orders 300 planes from Canadian branch of Boeing firm.

OCTOBER 28—British Labor Party and Trades Union Council demand that Great Britain take lead in restoring to Spanish Government right to purchase arms from abroad.

OCTOBER 29—Four changes in British Cabinet; Major Walter Elliott, Minister of Agriculture and an economic nationalist, replaced by William S. Morrison, Financial Secretary of Treasury.

OCTOBER 30—Government fears threatened strike may hinder rearmament plans; admits considering purchase of supplies abroad.

NOVEMBER 10—Bill framed to curb Sir Oswald Mosley's Black Shirts forbids wearing of political uniforms and formation of semi-military groups under penalty of drastic fines or imprisonment.

### India

OCTOBER 16—Thirty-five killed and 314 injured in Hindu-Moslem riots in Bombay; government ready to call out troops.

OCTOBER 18—Troops called out to quell riots; 50 killed and 490 injured during last four days; Hindu-Moslem peace negotiations fruitless.

### Iraq

OCTOBER 30—Bakr Sidky Pasha, leader of Pan-Arabic movement, becomes power behind King Ghazi, following military coup.

### Irish Free State

NOVEMBER 3—New constitution provides for popularly elected chief executive, responsible to two-chamber legislature; Senate constituted on functional basis; relationship with Great Britain ignored.

### Little Entente

OCTOBER 11—Victor Antonescu, Rumanian Foreign Minister, to arrange Rumanian-Yugoslavian anti-communist front in support of Spanish rebels; Czechoslovakia still favors loyalists.

OCTOBER 21—Premier George Tatarescu of Rumania in Belgrade; reported seeking Yugoslav support against Russia.

OCTOBER 22—Dr. Kamil Krofta, Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, reaffirms ties with Russia and France.

NOVEMBER 5—Fascist Iron Guard of Rumania

threatens life of King Carol as protest against "bolshhevist and Semitic" policies of Little Entente.

### Palestine

OCTOBER 12—End of Arab strike permits British Royal Commission actively to proceed with investigation of grievances.

OCTOBER 14—Trade activities resumed in atmosphere of distrust.

NOVEMBER 5—British Government announces reduced schedule of Palestine labor immigration permits for period ending April 1937.

### Peru

OCTOBER 23—Military cabinet takes office during elections, rightists fearing menace from left wing during electoral period.

### Puerto Rico

NOVEMBER 4—Coalition party sweeps elections, indicating lack of desire for independence from U. S. A.

### Russia

OCTOBER 20—Nikolai Bukharin, former associate of Lenin, resumes active direction of *Izvestia*.

NOVEMBER 6—In first public appearance in Moscow since July 6, Stalin appears in good health at celebration of revolutionary anniversary.

### Far East

OCTOBER 11—Japan prepares for world trade conference; will not depreciate yen further. Great Britain, anxious over interests in Yangtze valley, makes representations to Japan.

OCTOBER 14—Japanese and Chinese representatives fail to reach agreement; Japan worried over announcement of British commercial credits for China.

OCTOBER 17—General Chiang Kai-Shek discusses Sino-Japanese situation with Governors of Northern Provinces of Hopei, Shansi, and Shantung.

OCTOBER 19—Premier Hirota, pledged to avert war, checks military demand for reorganization of cabinet; renewed hope seen for Sino-Japanese negotiations.

OCTOBER 22—Conference between Chinese Foreign Minister Chang Chun and Japanese Ambassador Shigeru Kawagoe reaches impasse with Japanese insistence upon united front against communism in China.

North China authorities rushing defenses in Suiyan and Chahar.

OCTOBER 25—Prominent aide of Chiang Kai-Shek killed for being pro-Japanese.

OCTOBER 30—Chinese protest against Japanese military maneuvers in Tientsin and Peiping areas.

OCTOBER 31—Fifty airplanes presented to Chiang Kai-Shek as birthday present.

NOVEMBER 5—Manchukuoan and Mongolian troops reported invading Chinese Suiyan province.

Japanese citizen stabbed by Chinese "terrorists" in Shanghai.

NOVEMBER 6—Japanese War Minister opposes plan to limit powers of Parliament.

# Speaking of Travel

TO THE strategist a map is not a map at all; it is a complex web of lines crossing and recrossing to compose triangles, rectangles, and circles, all mysteriously collated to the range of heavy guns and the power of marine engines; in essence, the mobility of destructive weapons. With assurance these men who see what escapes the ordinary traveler's eye, can place an index finger on some insignificant point and advise that the army controlling this, controls the rest.

The veteran Spanish traveler introduced to this new game by the world press finds it a depressing one indeed. Too often the heated dispatches reporting the movements of armies implies destruction and a rough handling for the peasants who have had an overdose of similar stuff already. This Spanish civil war is something to be studied morbidly and with regret. Romantic settings, long the cardinal charm of the Iberian peninsula, have been recklessly invaded by the machinery of war; "Castles in Spain" have unexpectedly fulfilled the ancient purpose of the builder, although in a somewhat different manner—artillerymen, riflemen, and machine gunners have intruded into the redoubts reserved for archers, stone-heavers and swordsmen.

## Castles in Spain

Unfortunately for the romanticist, whatever the outcome of the war, antiquities are destined for even more rapid ruin and decay. The peasant, liberated or repressed, can hardly be expected to treasure objects that have been the focal point of his discontent for long centuries. Those dramatic castles, builded by the Moor or arrogant Castile, have ever reared upward to the sun among picturesque and terrible hovels of the poor. Through the years, the low caste Spaniard has given life itself that absentee landlords and kings might live in luxury. Often enough the "keepers of the flocks" have dreamed of "Castles in Spain" and in their dreams have stirred fretfully.

But few trippers, well heeled and well fed, have viewed this squalor except as a disparity enhancing and making more incredible the beauty of the great stone piles. Always they have feasted upon the past and let the present go;

they have flitted from castle to castle, from landmark to landmark, seeking the fabulous, the age-old places where history was made so many years ago.

Unfortunately the good people making the grand tour are cleverly insulated against the world in which they travel. Hospitable governments see to it that these restless, avid, curious, and sometimes despised creatures contact nothing that will excite them, except in a well-mannered conventional way. They are passed along from place to place, subtly administered innocuous doses of scenic charm, and then returned to the homeland in one piece and with their sensibilities intact. Nor do governments condone the traveler whose vocabulary comprises something more than ejaculations for the mere scenic and picturesque. Precautions are always taken to divert the attention of the intellectually nosey; anomalies along the line of march are cleverly camouflaged and well-coached "stooges" are concealed in key positions.

## History's Down-Stroke

Occasionally, however, the tourist engages history in a head-on collision. Americans literally lifted by the nape of the neck from the Spanish locale can testify to this. Of course, such encounters are a gratifying experience for those thrill-seekers who roam the world looking for the trouble spots, anxious to jam their heads between the hammer and the anvil, and quite surprised if they get squashed on history's down-stroke. But the average tripper is seldom so lucky. Events transpire in his wake or occur before his coming. However, he need not despair. Although war, wholly destructive, may be the most dramatic form of human history, the reasonably sharp-eyed traveler will find in peaceful valleys the constructive work that is, in fact, more historically portentous than any bloody battle in the upward march of man from the morass. To achieve this insight the traveler must repudiate the history book that glorifies the fifteen greatest battles of the world. It is no longer enough to seek out the historical place-name and exclaim in chorus: "Here, at this point, amidst terrible carnage the tide of history ebbed!" More relevantly

the traveler might appraise the foliage on these ancient battlefields and remark the relative insignificance of human fertilizer in nature's scheme of things.

However, the World War taught the traveler much; latterly he has seen more than quaintness in the scenes through which he casually passed. Only recently, the thousands who toured peaceful Spain awoke to find in the morning paper a vindication for their long-time personal prophecies of impending violence. But even so, it startled them a little to realize in that quiet Galician Inn where they had passed the night Spaniard had murdered Spaniard. And in the San Sebastian ring where they had seen a bull impaled on a sword, not bulls but men this time were being spitted.

### *Spanish Disunity*

No doubt the casual traveler will remember the artistry of Toledo, Spain's religious capital, and the modernity of Madrid, and the sweep of Spanish terrain with its seven mountain walls, broad river valleys and endless tablelands. But such independent cities and broken topography hardly conduce to unity, and the tripper comes away with an incomplete and fragmentary memory of Spain. Galicians in the northwest, Basques with their anachronous speech in the north, and on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean, the Catalans—all proud of an individual culture, and yet all Spaniards. The visitor might speculate as to the reason for this division and he might draw some generalized conclusions. The realist might point to Barcelona, indicate the industrial life so alien to the majority of Spain, and then claim that this indeed is the reason for the Catalans' fanatical desire to unyoke themselves from the agrarian medievalism of their fatherland. On the other hand the romanticist will speak ecstatically of the warmth of Spanish life, forgetting the bleak tablelands, the racy mountain climate and the chill of the north. In turn the realist will complain of the Spaniard's liver, of dietary deficiencies and the promiscuous intermingling of blood. And yet there are still those who have peered closely into the faces along the route and who believe the natives of this legendary land have long carried the flames of a violent reckoning with fate in their eyes.

However, all agree that once free of the seductive rhythm of Spanish life they saw many shadowy sights, not the least of which were the bands of beggars and the haggard faces of the poor. For that reason they have read the reports of weird happenings that flooded the world's press. And they have remembered the man Cer-

vantes who once modeled a tragic countenance behind a comic mask, an old precursor them that Spain was not always fiesta and tango. Once in La Argentina, a clever Spanish dancer, remarked: "One Spaniard and we have a bullfighter. Two Spaniards and we have a tango. Three Spaniards and we have a revolution." Unfortunately, for the moment, at least, the latter would seem to be true. Don Quixote's progeny have revolted to strike each other down muttering strange curses: "Fascist Pig!" "Marxist Dog!"

### *Madridenos*

Recently while the world watched, Madrid, the capital of Spain, went under siege and assault; not a new experience for the city of the plain. Though Madrid is new—or so the rest of Spain considers it—having a history of scarcely one thousand years going back no further than the Moorish Majrit, it was in this city that the bravest date in Spanish history was forged. Here, the *Madridenos* armed with knives and stones and sticks defended against the invading forces of Murat who, though he won, appraised the Spanish temperament as a thing near madness. All one day the unequal battle raged, and on the night of the Dos de Mayo—May 2, 1808—noncombatants and warriors and the children of Madrid were butchered by murderous squads lusting for conquest and revenge. The indomitable Goya survived the night of horror to etch in acid for succeeding generations a record of Madrid's worst hour.

Since that day Madrid has changed considerably, although the temper of people seems much the same. For years the city has incurred the enmity of Catalan, Galician and Basque. To them it is the blood-sucking spider in the far-flung Spanish web. And to make it more detestable, the *Madrideno* flaunts his personal prosperity and creature comforts before the envious goatherd and agrarian. Within his city he enjoys the pleasures of the modern world while his compatriots in the hills and on the wind-swept plains live like medieval serfs. With such a parasitic reputation it is not strange that many a peasant marching with Franco in the direction of Madrid thought only of humbling this proud city for the imagined and real wrongs of the past.

Reports conflict concerning the real welfare of the city. Some say Madrid has gained more than it has lost. At least, under the early Azana regime some important artistic changes had been made. Inaccessible paintings, the former property of Madrid's innumerable aristocrats were hauled from the private palaces to the Prado, and hung in the principal hall which is so long



# "Don't worry about me—it's just a Cold"



Just a cold now—but it may lead to influenza or pneumonia which, on an average, cause 125,000 deaths each year in the United States. About half of these deaths occur in December, January, February and March.

THE common cold is bad enough in itself. But the real danger is that it may blaze the trail for more serious diseases or reduce your resistance to their attacks.

Before you realize it, what you think is just a "cold" may develop into influenza or even pneumonia. Pneumonia may start suddenly, even without a cold.

The first symptoms of pneumonia are usually chilliness or a severe chill, pain in the chest or side, headache, cough, and fever. Such symptoms mean that not a second should be lost. Go to bed and send for your doctor. Remember that pneumonia is a communicable disease. Proper nursing, complete rest and reasonable isolation are absolutely essential.

Lobar pneumonia is caused by many different types of the pneumonia germ—but each type is specific and can be identified. Should anyone in your family have pneumonia, your doctor will probably arrange for an immediate laboratory examination of the sputum to determine which type of pneumonia is present.

Serums are available which are highly effective in treating certain of the types. Not all cases of pneumonia should have serum treatment. Your doctor will decide.

During the next four months it will do the most damage to those who are not on guard. If your physical resistance is lowered by overwork or unusual fatigue, too little sleep, overindulgence in food or drink, or exposure to cold and wet, pneumonia germs may gain quick headway.

At this time of the year it is a wise precaution to have your doctor look you over very carefully to see whether or not you have diseased tonsils, sinuses, adenoids, teeth or other physical impairments which may lower resistance.

You will be safer during the coming winter months if you keep your vitality high.

Send for the Metropolitan's booklet, "Colds, Influenza, Pneumonia," which contains valuable information about the prevention and care of these diseases. Address Booklet Department 1236-K.



Keep Healthy—Be Examined Regularly

## METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

FREDERICK H. ECKER  
Chairman of the Board

~ ONE MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. ~

LEREOY A. LINCOLN  
President

Copyright, 1936, by Metropolitan Life Insurance Company

# Free!

The regular price of *The American Mercury* is 25c a copy, \$3 a year, but to introduce the magazine to you we will send you six copies for \$1—two free and four for your \$1.

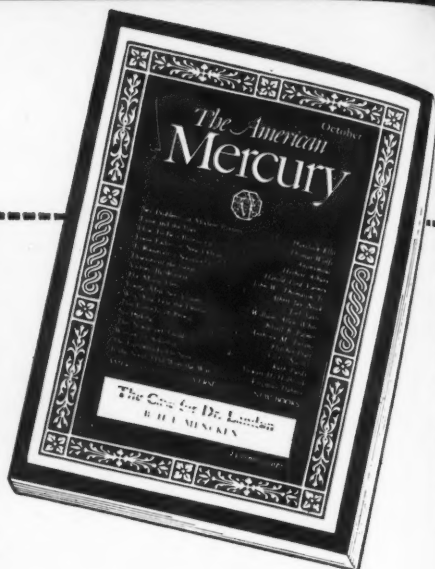
## Not Free!

If you prefer to examine an issue of *The American Mercury* carefully before availing yourself even of this special offer, go to your newsstand and buy a December copy. It is a fair sample of what you may expect in the magazine each month. You will especially enjoy reading "The Dole for Bogus Farmers" by H. L. Mencken:

"These mendicants," says Mencken, "call themselves farmers, and appear in statistics under that style, but they are actually no more farmers than a mud-scow is a man-o'-war."

## *To Modern Readers*

*The American Mercury*—America's most famous magazine of independent opinion—is now printed in the handy pocket size made popular by *The Reader's Digest*. 128 pages of grand reading, famous writers, news of all the worthwhile books, the best on politics, government, the arts and sciences—brief yet comprehensive, fearless, realistic, never dull—and now only 25c.



## \$1 SPECIAL INTRODUCTORY OFFER \$1

If you have any difficulty in finding the new popular size *American Mercury* at your newsdealer—send 25c for the December issue or \$1 for the next 6 issues. Do what America's most intelligent people do—read *The American Mercury*.

- ☐ Enclosed is \$1. Send *The American Mercury* for the next six months.
- ☐ Enclosed is 25c. Send December issue.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

CH12-36

Mail to 570 Lexington Avenue, New York

**THE AMERICAN MERCURY**  
570 LEXINGTON AVENUE • NEW YORK

you can almost see the curvature of the earth along its floor. In the future it will be worth anyone's time to see what the confiscations have added to the magnificent Prado collection of the Spanish masters Zurbaran, Ribera, Murillo, El Greco, Velasquez and Goya. And for the moment, it is reported that the business of bullfighting has undergone a change. Citizen militia now stroll about the Plaza de Toros where tradition holds that no matter what the provincial fame of a bullfighter he must be first presented to the *aficionados* before winning a real reputation. But even tradition is suspended: bulls die in a different manner—the people eat them.

### Passage at Arms

A tragic highlight, the siege of the Alcazar added another paragraph to the long history of the Spaniard under arms. For an instant the eyes of the entire world were turned to the beetling buttress dominating Toledo. While angry Spaniards hammered the redoubts with heavy guns and sapped the walls with dynamite, equally good Spaniards defended. Tales reached the outside world of women and children, relatives of the beleaguered, suffering slow starvation in the dungeons, of tainted horseflesh for the only sustenance, of childbirth, of prayers, of divine intervention, of heroism. Good stories; for the most part fiction. Men died there, of course, but men die anyway. Heroes perished, but already the grave is too full of the brave "who died because they were." With arms and the man, history insists upon a repetition. This, however, will not deter the tripper or historian; in the future the curious will travel far to gape at the scarred walls of the Alcazar; and the historian will dig up many logical facts to prove that Spanish history pivoted at this fortress.

In Barcelona for the first time in modern history anarchism put away its "bombs", trimmed its beard and went to work. Unprecedented are these free souls who, while professing to abandon all authority, nevertheless created a government. If it lasts it will be a good place for first-hand examination of this much-abused policy in action—at a later date, of course.

### Official Hospitality

Nor have the beautiful Balearic Islands been neglected in the quarrel. Majorca, a famous repository for American escapists, witnessed bitter fighting during the earlier stages of the revolt. In the past, how little did the tourists realize, not having the trained eye of the strategist, that many nations tensely watched and openly coveted these triple jewels of the Mediterranean. The climate

(Continued on page 126)

## SOUTH AFRICA'S GARDEN PROVINCE



Karkloof Falls  
in a  
Natal Gorge



**COME TO NATAL**, a wonderland of vivid green hills and luxuriant semi-tropical vegetation. Here are the charming cities of Pietermaritzburg, provincial capital, and Ladysmith and Colenso, of Boer War fame.

On the coast is delightful Durban, with its spacious, colorful beach on the Indian Ocean. The Marine Parade, shaded esplanade, and streets lined with flowering flamboyants and blue-blossomed jacarandas, are especially attractive.

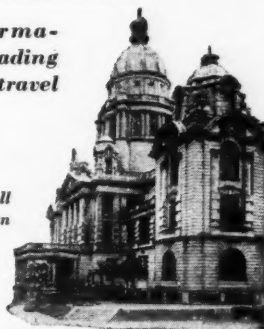
Sports for all—in a setting of sparkling sunshine and an amazing blue sky—golf and tennis, yachting, bathing, fishing, polo, horse racing.

Within easy reach are fascinating game reserves, the world-famed Valley of a Thousand Hills, Natal National Park and Zululand. There is no country in the world where native life is more colorful, in its variety of races and strange customs. . . . Experience the thrill of visiting Zulu villages, of seeing ceremonies and curious rites that have stirred your imagination in tales of adventure . . .

All these—and other high spots of interest—are now readily accessible by modern railway, airplane and luxurious motorbus—in this glorious "Sub-Continent" of South Africa.

*Detailed information from all leading tourist and travel agencies.*

City Hall  
Durban



## SOUTH AFRICA

# WHERE-TO-GO

## HOTEL - RESORT AND TRAVEL DEPARTMENT

Established 1906  
 FEATURED EVERY MONTH IN EIGHT PUBLICATIONS  
 OUR GROUP OF QUALITY MAGAZINES  
*Atlantic Monthly, Current History, The Forum, Harpers  
 Magazine, Mid-Week Pictorial (2 issues), Nature  
 Magazine, Review of Reviews and Scribner's Magazine*  
 For space and rates in our departments write to  
**THE WHERE-TO-GO BUREAU, Inc., 8 Beacon St., Boston, Mass., U.S.A.**



The early receipt of copy is requested

The eight magazines The Where-to-go Bureau uses regularly are all quality publications, and welcome visitors monthly in our best homes and influence quality people everywhere

TRAVEL

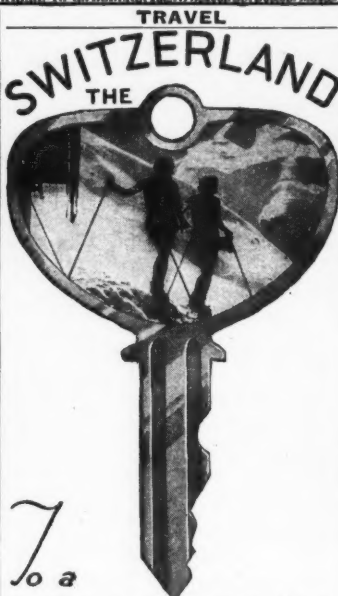


## Kashmir

WAS A PRIVATE PARADISE

Until recently, only 200 visitors a year were allowed in Kashmir. Now you may live in a cool house-boat on the Jhelum... camp in solitude near Kalahoi Peak... or enjoy golf, tennis, polo, and hunts at Gulmarg. Costs are so low for a vacation in Kashmir! Your English-speaking servants cost less than \$1.25 a day. Come to India via Europe or the Orient. Get full details from Delhi House, 38 E. 57th St., New York... or the better travel agents.

**INDIA STATE RAILWAYS**



## To a DELIGHTFUL HEALTHFUL WINTER

RAIL FARES AND HOTEL RATES  
REDUCED TO MEET THE DOLLAR

**Variety is the Spice of Life!!**

Switzerland holds plenty in store for you. Take your pick — it's practically yours for the asking.

- SKI-ING
- BOBSLEIGHING
- TOBOGGANING
- SKATING
- HOCKEY
- SKIJORING
- CURLING
- HORSE RACING

*No Visa    No Formalities*

Ask your Travel Agent for more  
information or write to us direct

**SWISS FEDERAL RAILROADS**  
475 Fifth Avenue - - New York

Where-To-Go blankets the best Travel prospects



Where-To-Go for Jan. closes Nov. 27

The Where-To-Go system influences the people comprising the cream of all Travel prospects. Our advertisers waste no money in presending their invitations to people who cannot accept.

TRAVEL



## JAPAN

*is doubly enjoyable  
when you go by N.Y.K.*

If you forget the swift, beautiful motor liners, it's because you'll be living in modern Japan, enjoying her gracious, smiling hospitality and allure, all the way. • Movies, orchestras? Of course.

**JAPAN, CHINA, PHILIPPINES**

Minimum Round-Trip Fares from Pacific Coast  
to Japan

**First Class \$551 Cabin Class \$437  
Second Class \$332 Tourist Cabin \$227**

Regular sailings from San Francisco and Los Angeles **via Honolulu**. Also direct departures from Seattle and Vancouver.

Write to Department 22, New York, 25 Broadway; San Francisco, 551 Market Street; Seattle, 1404 Fourth Avenue; Chicago, 40 North Dearborn Street; Los Angeles, 518 West Sixth Street, or any Cunard White Star Limited office. Consult your local tourist agent. He knows.


**N.Y.K. (JAPAN MAIL) LINE**



# WHERE-TO-GO

HOTEL-RESORT & TRAVEL DEPARTMENT

**WASHINGTON D. C.**



**The DODGE Hotel**  
On Capitol Hill - Washington,  
D. C. Experienced men and  
women travellers enjoy our  
"No Tipping" service. \$2 to \$8.

**Where-To-Go in 8 Magazines**

WHERE-TO-GO pages are read by families who can afford and always desire the best of everything. Eight high class magazines present these departments, featuring a large variety of Hotel, Resort and Travel invitations every month in the year. They are the sign boards of clients whose success has been won by the excellence of their entertainment offerings and their high standing.

Our departments undeniably exert the most helpful influence upon every member of the families where their advice is habitually sought and plans made accordingly.

Remember—small copy is BIG in Where-To-Go

For space and rates please write direct to The Where-to-go Bureau, 8 Beacon St., Boston.

Where-To-Go covers monthly the U.S. income tax payers on \$5,000 and over.



**TRAVEL**  
Through PANAMA CANAL



**Around South America**

PERU • CHILE • ARGENTINA • URUGUAY  
BRAZIL • VENEZUELA

**Rotterdam**  
FROM NEW YORK **FEB. 4**  
**61 DAYS-18 PORTS \$595<sup>up</sup>**  
(Shore excursions additional)

- 2 Cruises in 1—first the West Indies—then all of South America.
- Holland—America standards
- Membership limited to 500
- No rooms sold below C deck

CONSULT YOUR TRAVEL AGENT

**HOLLAND-AMERICA LINE**  
or  
**AMERICAN EXPRESS CO.**  
Offices in all principal cities

**NEW YORK**

**HOTEL SEYMOUR**  
NEW YORK CITY  
West 45th St.—just West of 5th Ave.

A most delightful and comfortable place to stay during your visit. Within a very short walk of all theaters, smart shops and Radio City. Two blocks from Grand Central Terminal. Quiet, refined atmosphere. Large rooms with high ceilings. All with private baths. Single rooms, \$3 up. Double rooms, \$4 up. Suites, single, \$5 up. Double, \$6 up. Excellent restaurant and dining room. Bar.

**EVERYTHING TO MAKE YOUR VISIT ENJOYABLE**

**WHERE-TO-GO DEPARTMENTS ARE** in eight of the best family magazines every month simultaneously. They meet the traveler everywhere, will accompany him wherever he may turn, and will influence all his choices in travel planning.



## Statement of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, etc., required by the Acts of Congress of August 24, 1912, and March 3, 1933

of Current History, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1936.

State of New York } ss.  
County of New York

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared John C. Casman, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the General Manager of Current History and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit: 1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are: Publisher, M. E. Tracy, 63 Park Row, New York, N. Y.; Editor, M. E. Tracy, 63 Park Row, New York, N. Y.; Managing Editor, None; Business Manager, John C. Casman, 63 Park Row, New York, N. Y. 2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must

be given.) Current History, Inc., 63 Park Row, New York N. Y., Frances W. Casman, 63 Park Row, New York, N. Y., John C. Casman, 63 Park Row, New York, N. Y., Harriet B. Tracy, 63 Park Row, New York, N. Y., M. E. Tracy, 63 Park Row, New York, N. Y. 3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None. 4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him. Signed, John C. Casman, Business Manager, Sworn to and subscribed before me this 21st day of September, 1936. (Seal) David L. Thompson, Notary Public. (My commission expires March 30, 1937.)

(Continued from page-123)

is delightful, the natives are hospitable, yet none of the covetous glances were turned in the direction of the islands for those or any similar reasons.

Perhaps the future tripper to Majorca setting forth to photograph a donkey or a picturesque native will discover some sections of the island have become strangely inaccessible. As has happened elsewhere zones will be delimited and instructions will be issued couched in sugary terms and bidding the tripper welcome but (always the *but*) advising him to confine himself within the scope of official hospitality. The wise traveler, perhaps experienced with suspicious bureaucracy, will do well to discipline his curiosity.

### Timeless Currents

Because of man's inquietude, or in spite of it, the Mediterranean littoral offers an interesting feast for sharp eyes in focus for something more than scenery and sunshine. Excluding Spain, of course, there is nothing to fear. Men with guns and angry grimaces will certainly be about although hardly within the tourist's range. Without fear of bandits or bullets the rheumatic and curious may again revisit the fabulous towns and cities bordering the sun-drenched sea. Since the



True Christmas Cheer . . .

Help to Make Others Healthy



The National, State and Local Tuberculosis Associations of the United States

day before yesterday the timeless currents of the people have scarcely changed—natives are still picturesque, fruits still lush, the wine still heady, and the mosquitoes have not as yet formed a "popular front" or succumbed to a racial pogrom. This last information for the realist, and as for the romanticist, it is also reported that, though Europe quivers and armed men wait upon each other with indrawn breath, the ruins of the ancients are undisturbed; for Mare Nostrum has known the keels of warships long before this hectic day; and the men, light-skinned or swart, who pass along this way will also have their works one day leveled into ruins.

In Spain the Castile makes history and for the sake of elbow room turns the traveler away. But he need not complain. When the storm passes, when the Spanish Marxist plucks his oranges on the five-year plan; or when the Spanish Fascist makes the trains run on time, then the traveler may return again to re-examine the ancient grounds of the Moor, of Castile and Navarre, remembering, perhaps, that history is the trifle of today recounted by some lying tongue on the morrow.

### Marbles and Men

The Sydney Bulletin reports that at the Badu Island, off the northernmost tip of Australia, it has been found necessary to forbid the islanders to play marbles, their enthusiasm for that recently imported pastime having led to neglect of the fishing and the shell-gathering on which their livelihood depends. A similar ban had to be laid on cricket some years ago in Tonga. Having learnt the game when at school in Maoriland, the late King Tubou II introduced it among his subjects, and found cause for regret. Very soon he had to restrict play to one day a week to ward off the famine threatened by neglect of the plantations.

### Happy Hunting Ground

All hunters dream of a happy hunting ground, teeming with game, unposted and unpatrolled by hard-hearted wardens. Few of them know that such a dream exists as a reality in the U.S.S.R., where one sixth of the earth's surface is almost wholly free of "No Hunting! No Trespassing!" signs. In the northern regions of the Soviet, polar bear, reindeer, walrus, moose, seal, Siberian tiger and snow leopard are plentiful; while further south may be found the boar, elk, mountain sheep and goat, the bob-cat, Caucasian deer and the European bison of the Caspian and Black Sea region. Peculiarly enough visiting hunters are welcome without licenses, and travel agencies will arrange the itinerary to suit the huntsman.

## The World in Books

(Continued from page 9)

spectable or able to hold the confidence of its own people."

Whether Mr. Baker has had the final word is doubtful. The question of war guilt has been "settled" countless times in the past just as it will be equally well settled with diverse explanations in years to come. It would seem, however, that if there were any least common denominator of the reasons for United States participation in the World War, it is that we should not take part in another one.

### Civil War in Spain

It might be appropriate at this point to consider events which have led up to the present Spanish crisis, a potential, if not probable, threat to another European conflict. In *The Spanish Tragedy* (Oxford, \$2.50), which fills an almost distressing need for an objective and authoritative history of Spain during the last six years, E. Allison Peers gives the reader the benefit of his many years of experiences and close observations on the Peninsula.

Mr. Peers deplores the popular tendency to regard civil war in Spain as the inevitable clash between fascists and communists. It is true, of course, that the issue can be broadly defined as between Left and Right, but it is inexact to use the labels of fascist and communist, merely "because everyone in this modern world has to be labeled something." The rebels, Mr. Peers points out, are fighting for one form or another of the *ancien regime*: for the Church, nobility, military dictatorship—perhaps for the King. The aims of the loyalists are somewhat more diverse. Some are fighting for the reforms already started by the Left; some are fighting for the right of the people to a government of their own choice; and still others are fighting for the proletarian revolution.

Whatever the immediate outcome in Spain, Mr. Peers believes that the ultimate fate of the nation will be determined in the best interests of the majority of its millions of citizens. Spain, he predicts, will rise above vacillating governments, tyrannical rulers, and party strife to emerge a unified, re-united, and prosperous land.

### A Second Landslide

The year 1936 will go down in history as the year of the two great landslides—the other one being the avalanche of journalistic memoirs. From Gunther down a long, but not weary, list

which includes Farson, Slocombe, and a nest of others, the public has been given a generous share of books "by those who were there when it happened." Three new titles lent added weight and sheen to the list last month. They were *Covering the Far East* by Miles Vaughn (Covici Friede, \$3.00); *I Found No Peace* by Webb Miller (Simon and Schuster, \$3.00); and *And Fear Came* by John T. Whitaker (Macmillan, \$2.50).

Vaughn and Miller have had almost parallel careers; in fact, both established reputations as top-notch foreign correspondents with the same news agency. Whitaker, youngest of the trio, is also in the front line of foreign correspondents, having excelled in his coverage of the League of Nations.

The criticism of certain categories of books—that, having read one, the reader has read them all—is not valid for any of the three books listed above. Each is as individualistic as its author, and, as any statesman will agree, foreign correspondents are a very individualistic lot. In the present trio, for example, one learns that Vaughn was genial, good-natured, extremely likeable. Miller was shy, reticent, and fainted at the sight of blood. Whitaker had a good sense of humor, possessed a wealth of intellectual ambition, and

## OPPORTUNITY FOR AGENTS

Applications are now being accepted by CURRENT HISTORY for district representatives to look after the magazine's numerous new and renewal subscriptions.

Previous experience, while helpful, is not essential. Applicants are required to furnish indications of their responsibility and integrity. Necessary materials will be supplied by the magazine. For complete details, write to

**CURRENT HISTORY**  
63 Park Row New York, N. Y.

had an equally large endowment of determination.

Considering the books separately, *Covering the Far East* is a week of evening entertainment (and education) of the highest order. As a work of historical importance, it will be of particular significance to students of Sino-Japanese relations, particularly in Mr. Vaughn's interpretation and observation of the events of 1931. From the standpoint of pure reading interest, it has not a garrulous page; anecdote cascades through the text with refreshing sparkle and vigor.

*I Found No Peace* takes one to a greater number of places, perhaps, than Mr. Vaughn's book. Webb Miller covered most of the great international stories of the last twenty years—more than a few of them “beats.” Miller was at the wires during the World War; scuttled from country to country in the post-war peace; and then made off for Ethiopia when it became certain that Mussolini was determined to make the domain of Haile Selassie part of Italy's place in the sun. Little wonder, then, that in his career as foreign correspondent the sensitive, shy Miller “found no peace.” Not the least significant aspect of *I Found No Peace* is a chapter in which Roy W. Howard, president of the United Press, explains the circumstances under which he communicated to the world news of a premature armistice on November 8, 1918. To dismiss the book as “interesting” would be to damn it with faint praise. Yet, take that word and assign to it its richest meaning—fuse it with vitality and life, and you have *I Found No Peace*.

The somewhat puzzling title of Mr. Whitaker's book will be recognized as the first words of the quotation: “And fear came upon every soul; and many wonders and signs were done by the apostles.”

It is because of this fear, he writes, that European democracies threw off their heritage of liberty and are heading back in the direction of gun-fire and cannon-shot. The object lesson to Americans, he says, is that a capitulation to “fear” will bring the downfall of democracy in this country. Democracy has a price; unless we are willing to pay that price we must be ready to “exchange our hats for gas masks and cut our clothes to the pattern of the militarists.”

These are Whitaker's conclusions after personal observations at meetings of the League of Nations; after experiences as a war correspondent in Ethiopia; after talks with Europe's leading statesmen; and after constant contact with the peoples of the Continent. His story is written with a facile and talented pen. It is as much a chronicle of human ambition and determination as it

is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of present-day governmental, economic, and social trends.

### **The French in Indochina**

French colonial policy has always been extremely realistic. There has been little cant about the “white man's burden”, and when the French start up a colony they usually have a lucid idea about just exactly what they are after. Thomas E. Ennis' *French Policy and Developments in Indochina* (University of Chicago Press, \$3.00) is a comprehensive analysis of the record of the French in that Southeastern corner of Asia. It deals with the problem since its inception in 1625, reviewing not only trade and settlement, but also general social, economic, and administrative issues which arose. Particular emphasis is laid upon the clash between the French industrial (“fratriarchal”) way of life and the native agricultural (“patriarchal”) philosophy. This problem is by no means confined to French Indochina today; it is a problem, approaching a crisis, which is complicating the relations between all imperial powers and their colonial possessions—not to mention its repercussions upon the relations between the oriental and occidental great powers. In explaining the methods in which the French handle this problem, Mr. Ennis has provided a timely and instructive work.

### **The Future of Politics**

Distinctly worthy of comment is the new edition to *The Promise of American Politics* by T. V. Smith (University of Chicago Press, \$2.50). Politics to Mr. Smith holds a little different meaning than it does for the average politician. A politician himself (State Senator, Illinois), Mr. Smith is convinced that public office is something more than an opportunity to get paid for sitting in the shade.

Accordingly, as he points out in a new preface to his book, politics is not a “game for petulant children; its cause is America, and its stakes the welfare of all classes of the oldest effective republic in the world—America rich in variety, as it is substantial with the sameness of a deep feeling on the part of all for a common fatherland.”

This is more than an exposition of the constructive part to be played by politics in the future of America. It is a prescription for those whose minds have been sorely tried by the constant pounding of various social theory and who once and for all want something solid on which to base their own estimations of communism, fascism, and the legion of other labels that have been attached to designs for living.